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## THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

# THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

Being a compilation of the English translations of the accounts left by Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Aelian and others with Maps, editorial notes, comments, analysis and Introduction.

*By*

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FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY  
CALCUTTA

© 1st Edition 1960

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY  
PUBLISHERS

6/1A, Banchharam Akur Lane, Calcutta 12, India.

**Popular Ed. Rs. 20.00'**

**Library Ed. Rs. 23.00**

Printed by R. Chatterjee at the Binani Printers Private Ltd.,  
38, Strand Road, Calcutta-1.

## PREFACE

This compilation of the classical accounts, bearing on Indian history and culture, is primarily intended for those who wish to get all necessary information on the subject in a cheap and handy volume. Most of the English translations of the Classical writings on India are now either out of print, or form a very small part of a costly publication consisting of a large number of volumes. This book is therefore expected to remove a difficulty that has long been felt by students and scholars alike. I need not add here anything about the scope and object of the book which have been fully discussed in the Introduction. An exhaustive index of proper names has been added in order to facilitate reference to persons and places mentioned in the Classical writings. As the extracts have been derived from different sources, the proper names are written in both Greek and Latin systems. The nominative singular suffix—**os**, for Latin—**us**, and **k** for **c** are the chief features of Greek spelling. I am painfully aware of the many shortcomings of this book, and I can only crave the indulgence of the readers for a pioneer work of this kind.

I am deeply indebted to the Harvard University Press for kindly according permission to reproduce a number of extracts from the English Translation of **The Geography of Strabo** by Dr. H. L. Jones. I must also express my obligations to Sri Dipak Sen M.A., LL.B., for having prepared the Index—a laborious task—and Sri Bratindra Mukherji, M.A., for rendering help in various ways. In conclusion, I must add that but for the initiative and enthusiasm of Sri K. L. Mukhopadhyaya this book would never have seen the light of the day.

4 Bepin Pal Road,  
Calcutta 26.  
December, 1960

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

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## ABBREVIATION

- M— I. The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin; by J. W. McCrindle (London, 1896). (Westminster, 1893).
- M— II. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian; being a Translation of the Fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, and of the First Part of the *Indika* of Arrian by J. W. McCrindle (London, 1877).
- M—III. The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea; being a Translation of the "*Periplus Maris Erythraei*" and of Arrian's Account of the Voyage of Nearkhos by J. W. McCrindle (Bombay, 1879).
- M—IV. Ancient India as described by Ptolemy by J. W. McCrindle (Bombay, 1885).
- M— V. Ancient India as described in Classical Literature by J. W. McCrindle (Westminster, 1901).

## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE NATURE AND VALUE OF CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS.

Since the beginning of Indological studies the accounts preserved in classical writings have formed a very valuable source of information. This was mainly due to the fact that there was no history of pre-Muslim India written by the ancient Indians themselves, and consequently very little was known of its political history. Although a mass of Indian literature belonging to the same period supplied a great deal of information on other aspects of history, its value was considerably lessened by two important factors. In the first place, this literature dealt mostly with religious or semi-religious topics and threw only a very dim light on secular affairs, specially political history. Secondly, its value, as it is, was considerably reduced by the fact that not even an approximate date could be assigned to the various literary sources. The classical accounts, on the other hand, were more concerned with topics other than religious, and the dates of almost all of them were known with a fair degree of accuracy.

Although more than a century has passed, the above statement in regard to this relative merit of classical accounts as a source of information for ancient Indian history still holds good. It is true that archaeological discoveries have increased the quantity and value of Indian sources. But they do not render the classical accounts of less value to any extent, for the two do not, generally speaking, cover the same ground. In any case, the Indian literary sources have not substantially increased in value, and the importance of classical writings remains as great today as ever. Nevertheless some improvements are noticeable in both. A few more literary texts of great value have been discovered in India, and we now possess better editions and more accurate translations of the classical texts.

An attempt has been made to collect in this single volume, all the classical texts *that throw any light on Indian history and culture*. This qualifying phrase explains why the accounts of Ktesias, and the stories of fabulous races, or of birds and animals, and sundry other topics of this nature have been omitted in this volume. Ktesias, of Cnidus in Caria, born in the 5th century B.C., was physician to the Achaemenian King of Persia, Artaxerxes Mnemon, for twenty years (418-398 B.C.). He wrote a treatise

on India, fragments of which alone have survived in the writings of later authors. Rawlinson rightly observes that the *Indika* of Ktesias "is full of extravagant stories of monstrous people and strange animals, and adds practically nothing to our knowledge of India". The grotesque legends about India, which were favourite topics of many classical and medieval authors, are mostly derived from the work of Ktesias. It has been translated by McCrindle.

The collection of all useful classical texts—a task not so far attempted by anybody—naturally draws our attention to the variety and richness of this source of information. The data supplied by them cover, in varying degrees, a wide range of subjects such as political history and constitutional forms, administrative institutions, military equipments and rules of warfare, physical and economic geography, trade and commerce, social and economic conditions, morals and religion, and a variety of topics bearing on general manners and customs of king and people.

These are not, of course, always dealt with in a systematic manner, but valuable information on these and other topics lie scattered about in the following pages. It is impossible, therefore, to exaggerate the importance of a thorough study of these accounts, now available in a handy form, to every student of Indian history and to those who take any special interest in ancient Indian history. It is, however, necessary at the very outset to draw attention to the limitations of this volume. The compiler has no knowledge of either Greek or Latin, and makes no claim to any critical study of the texts or to any originality or novelty in presenting their translations made by other scholars. His sole object has been to bring together the accounts, lying scattered in a large number of volumes, and sometimes forming a very small part of the works in which they occur. He has tried to modify old translations in the light of later ones and has reduced the critical or explanatory notes to a minimum. These notes figured very prominently in older translations, and sometimes their volume even exceeded that of the text itself. These will be found wanting in the present volume. The progress of Indology has not only rendered most of these notes practically useless, but sometimes they are even calculated to lead astray a beginner in this study. They no doubt still possess some value in the history of the progress of Indological research, but the compiler regarded any such value as outweighed



by the advantage of compressing all the accounts in a single volume. He has not, however, altogether neglected the task, and has supplied a few select notes which might be of some help and guidance to the readers. The only exception to this is the second section dealing with Alexander's invasion of India. The identification of tribes and localities, and the relative value of the different accounts, have been discussed in a large number of special works dealing with the subject. A bare reference to them would take a large space, and even this would not be satisfactory from any point of view. Something will be said of these accounts later in this Introduction. For the rest, the reader is referred to the writings of V. A. Smith and W. W. Tarn,<sup>1</sup> and the works referred to by them. Having made this short review of the nature of the accounts we may now proceed to take a bird's-eye view of their contents.

## 2. POLITICAL HISTORY AND ALLIED TOPICS

A very elaborate description of the Indian expedition of Alexander has been given by classical writers, and they have, incidentally, preserved very brief but highly interesting accounts of the rulers and States with whom he came into contact, specially the Prasii and the Gngaridae. But with the exception of this, the information on the political history of India is very scanty. The bare reference to the Indian Satrapy of Darius (1),<sup>2</sup> short accounts of the Nanda Kings (129, 172, 199) and the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta (193, 199), passing references to some Indo-Greek rulers (286-7, 303, 427, 449), and mention of some Indian embassies to Roman Emperors (282, 346, 451-3, 473-82),—these practically exhaust all the information supplied by the classical writers on the political history of India. There are some references to the history of India in remote antiquity (223), but they are of little value.

The knowledge possessed by the classical writers about the Prasii and the Gangaridae, ruling over the whole of North India to the east of the Beas river up to which Alexander advanced, was very vague and indefinite. This applies even to their military strength, about which Alexander made extensive enquiries and

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1. V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*; W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*.

2. The figures within brackets refer to the pages in the Text.

must have secured fairly reliable accounts (172). In the first place, while they are represented as a united nation under a single king by Diodorus (172) and Curtius (128), Plutarch (198) refers to them as separate nations under different kings. Secondly, while the first two authors give the number of the cavalry and chariots of the kingdom, respectively as 20,000 and 2,000, Plutarch increases their number four times, and the number of elephants given by the three are, respectively 4,000, 3,000, and 6,000. Pliny (342) refers to a standing army of 600,000 (or 60,000 ?) footsoldiers, 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants. When it is remembered that these numbers must have been recorded by contemporary writers on the basis of the information collected by Alexander, whom they accompanied, it is difficult to account for these discrepancies.

More important than the historical accounts are the incidental references to the democratic and oligarchical forms of Government in various States in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Of particular interest is the reference to the Oligarchy in Nysa (20-1) and the Republics of the Cathaeans (47, 259), the Siboi (136, 174), Agalassians (175), Sabarcae (151), Sambastai (180), Mallians (64), Oxydracians (62), Abastanians (75), Xathrians (75), Ossadians (75), Sodrai (181), and many others not specifically named (47). Expressions are used which indicate that the Republics were fairly common in those days in India (226). Tauala (183) had a form of Government closely resembling that of Sparta, with two hereditary kings of two different families, and a Council of Elders ruling the whole State with paramount authority.

A great deal of light is thrown on the civil, military, and municipal administration, and special interest attaches to the reference to the vital statistics and care for foreigners (238, 268-9), about which very little is known from other sources.

The mode of fighting is referred to in connection with the campaigns of Alexander, and the military equipments of the Indian army are described by various writers (230) who speak a great deal of elephants (238, 413-16, 264) and horses (420)—two animals which figured prominently in warfare and also in ordinary pursuits of life. Reference is also made to trained ferocious dogs used for hunting purposes (127, 171).

A great deal is said of the King. We have a fine description of the capital city (224) and royal palace (415), and the routine-

life and habits of the King (271, 388), such as his hunting expedition, rubbing of the body, hair-washing ceremony (280), his processions and festivals (280-81). Of particular interest are references to King's Amazonian bodyguards and constant plots against his life (271). There are references to criminal punishment (271, 455) and general aversion of the people towards litigation (270).

There has been much discussion regarding the views of the classical writers about ownership of land. All of them aver that the land belonged to the King, though a somewhat different view is found in Indian literature. As regards the payment of rent, the statement of Diodorus (237) was contradictory to the corresponding passage of Strabo which was originally translated as follows:—"The husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce."<sup>3</sup> The new translation by Jones (264) tallies with the statement of Diodorus, namely, that 'besides the land-tribute the husbandmen pay a fourth part of the produce to the King'. But Bernard Breloer<sup>4</sup> proposes that the phrase 'besides the land tribute' is a wrong translation of the Greek text which really means, 'in the absence of special arrangement.' If we accept this interpretation, we may conclude, on the testimony of the classical writers, that the husbandmen paid one-fourth of the produce as rent, unless there were any special arrangement in modification of this normal rent.

### 3. GEOGRAPHY

The geographical account may be broadly divided into two classes, namely the narratives of men who actually visited parts of India, and general description by people who gathered information from various sources.

As regards the first, the typical examples are the account of Nearchus (313-336) and the anonymous work called *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (288-312). The first belongs to the fourth century B.C., and the second nearly four hundred years later. Both describe the coastal voyage between the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Indus, and the difference between the two accounts shows the marvellous advance in navigation in these waters, and the wonderful progress in human culture in these regions, during

3. M-II, 84.

4. B. Breloer, *Kautaliya Studien*; quoted by U. N. Ghoshal in *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 30.

the interval of four centuries.

The nature of the voyage between the Suez coast and the mouth of the Ganges, along the coast, the names of ports with imports and exports and other economic data, and the detailed accounts of the trade and commerce carried on between India and the Western countries, supplied by the *Periplus* are of unique importance, as they are not known from any other source. In particular, apart from vague and general reference in literature, this book supplies the only positive evidence that is so far known regarding the ships built in India, and the Indian traders sailing and establishing settlements in Western waters (297,299).

A very interesting account of a voyage to Egypt by a body of Indian adventurers of whom one alone reached his destination, is told by Posidonios (283). Eratosthenes records the distances from the Caspian gates to India (286). There are also detailed accounts of Taprobane or the island of Ceylon (345-8, 436).

To the second class of geographers belong Strabo, Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy. The Greeks had been long interested in general geographical studies of the World. Hecataeus (c. 500 B.C.) was the first Greek geographer who knew of the continents, Europe and Asia, and regarded Africa as a part of the latter. His geographical work, *Survey of the World*, is lost. He referred to Indoi, Indus, Gandarii, Kaspapyros and a few other peoples on the Indus.

Next came Herodotus (1) who travelled widely. He rejected the theory, then current among the Greeks, that the earth was flat. But he had a very poor knowledge of India. He only knew that it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian empire towards the East. Herodotus lived from c. 484 to 431 B.C.

Nearly two hundred years later flourished Eratosthenes (c. 240 B.C.), the famous librarian of the great library established in Alexandria by the Ptolemies. He was a mathematician, and laid the foundation of a really scientific geography. He accepted the theory that the earth is spherical. It is believed by some that this theory was first propounded by Thales (640-546 B.C.), but others give this credit to Pythagoras who flourished in the sixth century B.C. In any case, it was Eratosthenes who based his geography on this idea, and, according to Bunbury,<sup>5</sup> his geographical description is not only much nearer to the truth than that of

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5. *History of Ancient Geography*, 1.635.

Ptolemy, who flourished four hundred years later, but it is actually a nearer approximation to truth than was reached by modern geographers till about two centuries ago. He described India on the basis of the accounts supplied by the companions of Alexander and Megasthenes. He also utilized the data supplied by the Register of Stathmi or Marches.

Strabo (244-287), who flourished about two centuries after Eratosthenes, wrote his geography in order to correct the earlier works on the subject. He had a very critical mind and had fuller information of the world on account of the extensive Roman empire. His views on the older classical writers on India and the difficulty of securing accurate data about the country would be clear from the opening paragraphs of his account (244 ff.). Strabo's account is a rich mine of information about India and is not confined to geographical details, including trade routes.

Pliny (37-50) not only describes the position, boundaries and physical characteristics of India, but gives a long list of races inhabiting India and refers briefly to the routes of voyages to and from India with reference to the western lands. His notices about India are fuller, because he flourished in the first century A.D. when there was an increasing trade between the Roman Empire and the east, and the discovery of Hippalus (306, 337, 339) enabled the western sailors to go direct to India and avoid the long coastal voyage. But Pliny (A.D. 23-79), though a later writer than Strabo, was less critical. "His love of the marvellous disposed him to accept far too readily even the most absurd fictions."<sup>6</sup>

About a century after Pliny flourished Arrian and Ptolemy who were contemporaries, both belonging to the middle of the second century A.D. Arrian's geographical account of India is contained, partly in his account of Alexander's expedition (23 ff.) and partly in the *Indika* (214 ff.). Arrian has also preserved the account of the coastal voyage of Nearchus from the mouths of the Indus towards the west (313 ff.), to which reference has been made above.

Ptolemy is the most renowned among the classical scholars who wrote geographical accounts of India. For a detailed discussion of his geographical work, reference may be made to pp. 351 ff.

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6. M-V, p. 102.

## 4. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

We learn a great deal from these geographical works and other texts about the trade and commerce between India and the western countries.

They give an account of the rich mineral, agricultural and other economic products of India. They also describe its people, plants, and animals, and also repeat sundry tales about them carried by traders and travellers. Reference is made to trade with Greece by the system of barter (450). An interesting item was the export of Silk (450). The Pearl fishery (416-7, 222) formed an interesting topic of classical writers. There is also reference to the working of the mines (233). The fertility of the land was an object of admiration. The classical writers hold before us a life of ease and opulence (233, 450-1) which was not disturbed by famine and scarcity. This is chiefly accounted for by a convention tacitly obeyed by warriors never to ravage lands or molest cultivators even during the heat of the War (233, 264).

The statement that 'famine has never visited India' (233) is contradicted by Indian literature which refers to famine even in ancient days. Reference is made, for example, in Jaina literature to a terrible famine at the time of Chandragupta Maurya.<sup>7</sup>

The Indians were also highly developed in arts and crafts. Reference may be made to the statement of Nearchus (279).

## 5. GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The classical writers were naturally attracted by the peculiar social customs and institutions. The division of the people into seven castes is described in some detail (236, 263). It is, however, obvious that Megasthenes, who seems to be the only source of information on this point, had no accurate idea on this subject. He evidently mistook the people, following same professions or occupations, as forming endogamous classes in society. In any case, his seven castes have little in common with the four regular, or a large number of mixed, castes which certainly flourished in India after him. It has been suggested that he got his number seven from Indian informants, but this is very unlikely, for the mystic or stereotyped figure seven nowhere appears in Indian literature.

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7. *The Cambridge History of India*, I.65.

ture along with caste divisions. It is more likely that he knew of social divisions based on occupations, and also of the prevalence of endogamy, among some communities in India. He mixed these two and then evolved his 'Caste' on the basis of various professions and occupations with which he became familiar. It has been rightly observed that the seven castes or classes of Megasthenes may truly reflect the various activities which a Greek resident at Pataliputra could see going on round about him in the third century B.C.<sup>8</sup> This is quite in keeping with what may be reasonably inferred from the writings of Megasthenes about his lack of critical judgment.<sup>9</sup>

The inability of the classical writers to understand the social institutions of foreigners like Indians, and a consequent tendency towards easy generalisation from isolated facts or concrete instances, are clearly proved by many statements made by them. A notable instance is furnished by the categorical statement that there were no slaves in India (244, 271). This cannot be true, as slavery is referred to in ancient Indian Smritis or law-books and in other literary works. Smritis as well as the secular *Arthashastra* make classifications of slaves according to the circumstances of their origin, and describe their rights and disabilities as well as the ways by which they can be manumitted. The only rational explanation of the error into which the classical writers fell is furnished by the extremely miserable lot of the slaves in Greece and Rome. Evidently the western writers would not regard as slaves those who spent their lives more like domestic servants. They looked around for the wretched species of humanity, known as slaves in the West, who were treated more like chattels than human beings—and found none. Hence they wrote that slavery was unknown in ancient India. Some writers, however, referred to the existence of slaves in some States of India (271) but regarded it as peculiar.

Another instance in which the ignorance of the classical writers is difficult to explain is the statement, attributed to Megasthenes, that the Indians were ignorant of the art of writing. Strabo quotes this (270) as well as another statement of Megasthenes which credits the Indians with a knowledge of writing (264). Strabo also refers to a statement of Nearchus to the effect that the Indians write missives on linen cloth, immediately adding, how-

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8. Ibid., 409.

9. See Appendix I.

ever, that the other writers say that the Indians make no use of written characters (279). Curtius refers to the use of the barks of trees for writing (104), and though he belongs to a later period, seems to describe the state of things prevailing in Alexander's time. There is, however, hardly any doubt that the art of writing was known to the Indians at the time of Megasthenes, and even much earlier. This is proved by the inscriptions engraved on rocks and pillars during the reign of Asoka, about half a century later. These letters are so well formed that there must have been an anterior period of development of writing extending over centuries.

The classical writers throw some light on dress and ornament (270, 281), food and manner of taking it (270, 403, 455), funeral (270, 223), rubbing of body (270), private dwelling houses (223, 388) and the urban life of India which had innumerable cities (223).

On the morals of the Indians the classical writers have expressed divergent views. Curtius has condemned the court-morality in strong language (105). He even goes so far as to say that amid this corruption of morals who would expect to find the culture of philosophy (105-6)? On the other hand, Strabo gives an almost exactly opposite view (269-70).

Apart from incidental references, a great deal is said about the Brahmanas and Sramanas, the latter including both Buddhists and Jainas (Ch. XIII, 187, 237, 263-4, 173 ff., 298 ff.). But the Brahmanas were not all recluses or devoted to religious pursuits. Some of them took active part in politics and were great fighters (1, 81, 278). Reference is also made to religious practices (280) and to the Indian conception of immortality of soul (450).

## 6. RELIABILITY OF THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS

Finally, it is necessary to consider the question how far the classical accounts may be relied upon as accurate information. In order to judge this question properly, we may begin with the different accounts of Alexander's expedition. Of this there were contemporary records by trustworthy men. Yet a perusal of the different accounts that have reached us raises grave doubts whether they are all derived from a common reliable source. A few concrete examples may be cited to illustrate the nature of



these differences.

Both Arrian and Curtius Rufus refer to the capture of an Aspasian city by Alexander (8, 107). According to the former, Alexander's soldiers, 'being enraged because the besieged had wounded Alexander, slew all whom they took prisoners'. But according to Curtius, 'Alexander massacred all the inhabitants in order to strike terror into the people', and he had previously issued this order, which was thus a part of his policy! There is also serious divergence between the two writers regarding the route followed by Alexander after this incident. According to Curtius, Alexander next conquered Nysa, and then proceeded to Massaga and Aornus. But Arrian places these expeditions, and many others, before he reached Nysa. As regards the capture of Massaga, Curtius emphasizes the role played by the movable towers (110), while Arrian makes no reference to them (13). Similarly, Arrian justifies the massacre of the Indian mercenaries at Massaga on the ground that they had treacherous intentions (13), but, according to Diodorus, Alexander treacherously attacked the mercenaries, being actuated by an "implacable enmity" against them (162). According to Arrian and Justin, the people of Nysa offered no resistance (20, 188), but Curtius says that 'the defenders risked an engagement' (107). The detailed account of the fight and the strategy by which Aornus was conquered is given differently by Arrian (16-18), Curtius (111-12) and Diodorus (163-4).

The accounts given by different writers about Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes vary in essential points. Curtius (118), for example, does not refer to the two crossings mentioned by Arrian (34), due, according to the latter, to the "ignorance of the locality". Plutarch says that Alexander first crossed over to an island and then advanced from the island and reached the other bank (196). What happened after the crossing of the river is differently described by different writers. According to Aristobulus Alexander easily routed the Indians in the sixty chariots under the command of the son of Porus (36). Ptolemy says that the son of Porus had arrived at the head of 2,000 cavalry and 120 chariots, but they gave way after the first charge of Alexander, and 400 of their cavalry, including the son of Porus, fell in the contest (36-7). Curtius says that this advance force consisted of 100 chariots and 4,000 horse led by the brother of Porus, and there was a regular battle in which "it would be hard to say which

side suffered most" when the chariots of Porus charged the Greeks (119). Plutarch says that the force of Porus consisted of 1000 horse and 60 chariots and these were routed by Alexander (196). There are also discrepancies in the accounts of the main battle between Alexander and Porus.

Now Aristobulus and Ptolemy both accompanied Alexander and were present in the battlefield. Plutarch says his account is based on the description of the battle given by Alexander himself in his letters (196). How are we then to explain all these discrepancies? Arrian undertook the task of writing a comprehensive account of Alexander's Indian expedition. He wisely followed the authority of two generals, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who actually took part in the expedition. Yet he simply records the different versions without any comment. Being a junior contemporary of Plutarch he must have been aware of the existence of Alexander's letters containing what should be regarded as the most authentic account of his battle with Porus. But he makes no reference to these letters. It is difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that even Arrian, not to speak of others, cannot be regarded as a critical historian, in the sense in which we understand the expression today. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to attach a great value to the different accounts of the expeditions of Alexander, except on those points on which there is a general agreement.

When the writers differ even in respect of the essential points of the military campaign, one need not feel surprised at the difference on less important details. Thus we have divergent accounts of the manner in which Porus fought and was made prisoner, as well as his talk with Alexander when brought before him (42, 123, 189-90, 197). As regards the speech of Coenus, explaining causes of the discontent of the soldiers, the differences are more serious still. Curtius makes him emphasize the utmost misery of the soldiers with elaborate details (134). Diodorus and Plutarch both omit any reference to the speech of Coenus. Diodorus refers to the 'utmost misery' with details, and describes how Alexander tried to win over the soldiers by allowing them to plunder and bribing their wives and children (173). Plutarch explains how the battle with Porus depressed the spirits of Alexander's soldiers, and made them oppose any further advance against Indians whose rulers possessed a mighty force, compared with which, the forces of Porus, which they had beaten with utmost difficulty, almost sink into insignificance (198). But the long

speech put by Arrian in the mouth of Coenus (54-6) does not contain the slightest reference to any of these things. As regards the death of Bucephalus, the favourite horse of Alexander, Arrian says it died a natural death and not from any wound (43), whereas Strabo says it fell during the battle with Porus (258). As regards Alexander's heroic exploit in a city of the Malloi, where he was severely wounded, Justin says he alone leapt from the wall into the citadel and 'single-handed fought against thousands' (191). Diodorus adds that Peucestas alone joined him at the critical moment (177). Arrian says that three men leaped down, more or less at the same time as Alexander, and fought in front of the King (69). It being a memorable episode in the whole campaign, the transference of the scene to the dominions of the Sudracae by Curtius (140) and the difference among others on vital points are not easy to explain. Similarly, the writers differ in their accounts of the war memorial erected by Alexander to mark his furthest advance. According to Arrian, Alexander constructed twelve altars equal in height to very large towers (57), and this is supported by Strabo (285). According to Justin Alexander only "ordered a camp to be made of an unusual size" (190). Curtius (135) and Diodorus (173) refer to both altars and camps of unusual character.

It is easy to multiply such instances of discrepancy on serious topics in regard to a subject on which the classical writers had the best possible source of information. Nor is it necessary to refer to some accounts of Alexander's invasion which hardly contain any truth (209, 213). The natural inference is that the classical writers did not make a very careful and critical study of the sources available to them, and their standard of historiography was not very high. This is fully corroborated by what has been said of the classical accounts of the Indian embassies to Rome by Priaulx (Appendix II).

Next to Alexander's companions who wrote about his Indian expedition, Megasthenes is the oldest classical writer who had a first-hand knowledge of India and ample opportunity of gathering information. His *Indika*, or the collection of Fragments preserved in later writings, has long enjoyed the reputation of being a rich mine of useful and authentic information about India. The question how far the Fragments, usually ascribed to him, can really be accepted as such, and may be relied upon as authentic, has been fully examined in Appendix I. It will appear from what has

been said there that the adverse comments against Megasthenes by ancient writers like Strabo, Pliny and Arrian are fully justified, and modern scholars have no right or reason to ignore them. On the whole, it is easy to distinguish critical writers like Strabo and Arrian from the host of others who preceded them and were justly condemned by them as credulous and uncritical. The remarks of Strabo and Pliny, particularly those quoted on pp. 246 ff., cannot be lightly dismissed, and a modern historian should not accept any statement of the early classical writers as true without corroborative evidence. This also applies to the later writers who seem to have derived much of their information from older sources. The unreliable character of the classical accounts is best shown by the mutually contradictory and palpably wrong statements about the absence of slavery, ignorance of writing, etc., and the many absurd tales of men and beasts, and unnatural phenomena solemnly reported by them.

How ridiculously absurd might be the stories told even by those who professed to be eye-witnesses, may be illustrated by the story of Iamboulos (142) which was recorded by Diodorus. Reference may be made in this connection to Strabo's remarks on Onesicritus (258) and Craterus (262), and the lack of agreement among the historians about Calanus (279). Dion Chrysostom accepted as true the statements, recorded in the Puranas, of rivers flowing with wine or honey, and added that these were not fictions but facts asserted by those who came from India (433).

In the light of these observations what reliance can be placed on those statements which appear to be unnatural or absurd on the very face of them? Typical examples of such statements are furnished by what Megasthenes says about the men and women of the Caucasus (271), the statement of Aristobulus about customs at Taxila (276), the two statements, recorded by Strabo, namely 'that the women are permitted to prostitute themselves if the husbands do not force them to be chaste' (270) and 'that a woman who kills a King when he is drunk receives as her reward the privilege of consorting with his successor' (271); the statement of Megasthenes that the women of the Pandaian realm bear children at the age of six (455), and those seven years old are of marriageable age (222), that the Pandaean nation is governed by females (458), that the men who live longest die at forty (223); that no private person is permitted to keep a horse or elephant (264) which is contradicted by another equally absurd statement

of Nearchus (266); that there is no remedy at law for recovering loan or deposit (455), and the oft-repeated stories of gold-digging ants (2, 266). It may be argued that some of these statements, however incredible it might appear to us today, might well be true in those days. Arrian, for example, had tried to show that the girls might be marriageable at the age of seven (223). Even if we accept it, the question arises, how far we are justified in believing in them merely on the strength of assertions of persons whose credulity and lack of critical sense have been proved beyond doubt. Writers like Megasthenes, who could accept, as true stories of men without any mouths or noses, or with ears large enough to sleep in (272), of gold-digging ants (266), and of river Silas on which nothing floats (219, 234), would easily believe in the stories of the women in Caucasus and Pandai without any question. Those who can swallow a camel would hardly strain at a gnat. It is interesting to note that the classical writers themselves accuse each other of falsehood and exaggeration.

#### 7. VALUE OF THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS.

The value of the classical accounts is also reduced by the fact that we have clear evidences of the texts being tampered with in later times. The distances given by Pliny, as recorded in the translations of McCrindle and Rackham, show such wide divergences that they must have relied on two different texts, one or both of which were evidently altered in later times.

The classical writers also suffered from a superiority complex. They held that the nations conquered by Alexander were barbarians, and became civilized by contact with the Greeks, by whose influence alone barbarism was crushed and a better morality superseded a worse (204). No wonder that they readily believed that Homer's poems were translated and sung by the Indians (414, 448), and that some Indian rulers paid allegiance to Constantine (453),

The net result of all this discussion is that we must dismiss from our mind the notion that the statements of classical writers have any special claim to be regarded as true or authentic, and based on ascertained facts. In particular, the older generations that preceded Strabo were, generally speaking, very uncritical, and therefore much less reliable than writers like Strabo and Arrian, who possessed a more rational mind and a much higher critical

faculty, as evidenced by their questioning the truth of absurd statements or unnatural phenomena which the earlier writers glibly reported as true. It may be, that many of these were not deliberate liars or fabricators of facts, but were misled by imperfect knowledge of Indian language and manners, false report of Indian informants, and fables or allegories recorded in Indian literature. But while these considerations may weigh with us in our judgment of their moral character, they should not, in any way, affect our view of the reliability of their accounts. One who is guilty of recording false stories, from whatever causes, and has been proved to be incapable of rational discrimination between what is probable or natural and what is not, forfeits all right to be regarded as a reliable recorder of events or things even where they do not exceed the bounds of probability. This does not mean that we shall reject all their statements. It means only this that where these statements are in consonance, and not in conflict, with what we may reasonably conclude from other evidences, we may provisionally accept them as true. But we must not regard them as specially sacrosanct in character, and shall be ever ready to reject them in the light of new facts which might be adjudged to possess a greater degree of reliability, after considering all that has been said above of the general nature of classical accounts.

Reference has been made above to the sense of critical judgment possessed by writers like Strabo and Arrian. But this was impaired, to a certain extent, by their lack of first-hand knowledge of India and dependence on writers whom they were foremost in denouncing. Thus Strabo and Arrian accepted many statements, because extraordinary things are always associated with an unknown foreign country (223). Strabo reproduced, without comment, two contradictory statements about the knowledge of the art of writing in India (264, 270), and Arrian argued that the statement that girls attained marriageable age at seven, might after all be true (223).

In conclusion, it must be clearly explained that the observations and comments made above must not lead one to suppose that the classical writers were inferior to others in that age or in the ancient world. No better specimens of foreign accounts than those of the classical writers have reached us. They are the very best that we yet know of, but are not good enough according to modern standard.

## I. HERODOTUS

Herodotus, the Greek historian, called the Father of History, was born between 490 and 480 B. C. at Halicarnassus, a town in Caria on the south-west coast of Asia Minor, which was then subject to the Persians. His famous book, *The History* ( or *The Histories*), contains the passage quoted below. The translation is based upon that of McCrindle.<sup>1</sup>

There are several English translations of the whole book : namely.

1. By Issac Taylor (London, 1829).
2. By Canon G. Rawlinson (1858-60),
3. By G. C. Macaulay (1890).
4. By Aubrey de Selincourt (Penguin Classics, 1955).
5. "The outline of knowledge" (Edited by J. A. Richards), N. Y. 1924.

Darius, son of Hystaspes, set up twenty Satrapies (Provincial Governorships), and assessed each nation for taxes.

(A list of Satrapies is given)

Twentieth : The Indians, the most populous of all the nations in the world, paid the largest sum,—360 talents of gold-dust. (Book III, 97)

Book III, 98.

I will now describe the method by which the Indians obtain the great quantity of gold which enable them to pay the above-mentioned quantity of gold-dust. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand. Indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia of whom we have any reliable information, the Indians are the most easterly—beyond them the country is uninhabitable desert. There are many tribes of Indians who speak different languages ; some of them are pastoral and nomadic, and others not. Some inhabit the marsh-country by the river. The people eat raw fish which they catch by going out in boats made of reeds,—each boat made from a single joint. These Indians make their garment from a sort of rush which grows in the river, gathering it and beating it out, and

1. The translation of McCrindle (M-V, pp.1ff.) has been revised in the light of that by Aubrey de Selincourt ( pp. 216-7 ).

then weaving it into a kind of matting which they wear to cover their chests, like a breastplate.

99. Other Indians, living to the east of these, are nomads, and eat raw flesh ; they are called Padaeans. They are said to have the following customs. When any one of the community is sick, if he be a man, the men who are his nearest connections put him to death, alleging that if he is wasted by disease his flesh would be spoilt ; but if he denies that he is sick, they, not agreeing with him, kill and feast upon him. And if a woman be sick, in like manner the women who are most intimate with her do the same as the men. And whoever reaches to old age, they sacrifice and feast upon ; but few among them attain to this state, for before that they put to death every one that falls into any distemper.

100. Other Indians have the following different custom : they neither kill anything that has life, nor sow anything, nor are they wont to have houses, but they live upon herbs, and they have a grain the size of a millet in a pod, which springs spontaneously from the earth, this they gather, and boil it and eat it with the pod. When any of them falls ill, he goes and lies down in the desert, and no one takes any thought about him, whether dead or sick.

101. The intercourse of all these Indians whom I have mentioned takes place openly like cattle ; and all have a complexion closely resembling the Ethiopians. The seed they emit is not white as that of other men, but black as their skin ; the Ethiopians also emit similar seed. These Indians are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius.

102. There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians, and these are they who are sent to procure the gold ; for near this part is a desert by reason of the sands. In this desert, then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. Some of them are in possession of the King of the Persians, which were taken there. These ants, forming their habitations underground, heap up the sand, as



the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner ; and they are very like them in shape. The sand that is heaped up is mixed with gold. The Indians therefore go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male one harnessed to draw by the side, and a female in the middle. This last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible ; for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens.

103. *Is occupied with a short description of the camel.*

104. The Indians then adopting such a plan and such a method of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants hide themselves under the ground. Amongst these people the sun is hottest in the morning, and not, as amongst others, at mid-day, from the time that it has risen some way, to the breaking up of the market ; during this time it scorches much more than at mid-day in Greece, so that, it is said, they then refresh themselves in water. Mid-day scorches other men much the same as the Indians ; but as the day declines, the sun becomes to them as it is to others in the morning ; and after this, as it proceeds it becomes still colder, until sunset ; then it is very cold.

105. When the Indians arrive at the spot, having sacks with them, they fill them with the sand, and return with all possible expedition. For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that the Indians, if they did not get the start of them while the ants were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) slacken their pace, dragging on, not both equally, but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken their pace. Thus the Indians, as the Persians say, obtain the greatest part of their gold ; and they have some small quantity more that is dug in the country.

106. The extreme parts of the inhabited world somehow possess the most excellent products ; as Greece enjoys by far

the best tempered climate. For in the first place, India is the farthest part of the inhabited world towards the east, as I have just observed : in this part, then, all animals, both quadrupeds and birds, are much larger than they are in other countries, with the exception of horses ; in this respect they are surpassed by the Medic breed called the Nysaeon horses. In the next place, there is abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized in the manner I have described. And certain wild trees there bear wool instead of fruit, that in beauty and quality excels that of sheep; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees.

Book IV. 44. A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda<sup>1</sup>. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice<sup>2</sup>, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea<sup>3</sup>; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the King of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea.

*The translation of the foregoing extracts has been taken from Bohn's Herodotus translated by Cary.*

1. Caryanda was a city of Caria on the coast, not far from Hallikarnassus, of which Herodotus was a native. As Scylax was the fellow-countryman of the historian there seems little, if any, ground for doubting, as some have done, whether this voyage was actually made.
2. Dr. M. A. Stein (in his Memoir on Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir, 1899) identifies the land of Paktyike with the territory of Gandhara, the present Peshawar District. While thinking it unlikely that the exact site of Kaspatyros will ever be identified, he suggests that the expedition of Scylax may have started from some point near Jahangira, a place on Kabul river some six miles distant from its junction with the Indus. Paktyice is probably now represented by the ethnic name *Pakthun* or the Indian Pathan.
3. The Indus, however, after emerging from the mountains holds its course southward.

## II. INVASION OF INDIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT

A. Arrian

Arrian (Flavius Arrianus), Greek historian and philosopher, was born about A. D. 96 and died about A. D. 180. The Roman Emperor Hadrian appointed him Governor (legatus) of Cappadocia. He served as such from A. D. 181 to 187 and distinguished himself in a military expedition against the Alani. He was Archon of Athens in A. D. 147-8. The most important work of Arrian is his *Anabasis of Alexander* which describes the life of Alexander from his accession to his death. The portion of this work dealing with the invasion of India by Alexander is reproduced below. Arrian himself says that he derived his information from the writings of Aristobulus of Cassandria and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who later became king of Egypt. As both of them accompanied Alexander, the *Anabasis* may be regarded almost as a contemporary account.

The other important work of Arrian is the *Indica*, written in the Ionian dialect. It gives a general description of India based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes. It also includes an account of the voyage made by Nearchus, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchus himself.

The extracts from both these works, included in this volume, are based on the English translation of McCrindle (I and II). Both the works have also been translated into English, in the Loeb Classical Library series, by E. V. Rieu.

### THE ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

#### BOOK IV

#### CHAPTER XXII

Alexander reaches the river Cabul, and receives the  
homage of Taxiles

After capturing the Rock of Chorienes Alexander himself went to Bactra; but sent Craterus with 600 of the cavalry Companions and his own brigade of infantry as well as those of Polysperchon, Attalus, and Alcetas, against Catanes and Austances, who were the only rebels still remaining in the land of the Paraetaceni.

A sharp battle was fought with them, in which Craterus was victorious; Catanes being killed there while fighting, and Austances being captured and brought to Alexander. Of the barbarians with them 120 horse-men and about 1,500 foot soldiers were killed. When Craterus had done this, he also went to Bactra, where the tragedy in reference to Callisthenes and the pages befell Alexander. As the spring was now over, he took the army and advanced from Bactra towards India, leaving Amyntas in the land of the Bactrians with 3,500 horse, and 10,000 foot. He crossed the Caucasus in ten days and arrived at the city of Alexandria, which had been founded in the land of the Parapamisadae when he made his first expedition to Bactra. He dismissed from office the Governor whom he had then placed over the city, because he thought he was not ruling well. He also settled in Alexandria others from the neighbouring tribes and the soldiers who were now unfit for service in addition to the first settlers, and commanded Nicanor, one of the Companions, to regulate the affairs of the city itself. Moreover he appointed Tyriaspes, viceroy of the land of the Parapamisadae and of the rest of the country as far as the river Cophen. Arriving at the city of Nicaea, he offered sacrifice to Athena and then advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald forward to Taxiles and the other chiefs on this side the river Indus, to bid them come and meet him as each might find it convenient. Taxiles and the other chiefs accordingly did come to meet him, bringing the gifts which are reckoned of most value among the Indians. They said that they would also present to him the elephants which they had with them, twenty-five in number. There he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdicas away into the land of Peuce-laotis, towards the river Indus with the brigades of Gorgias, Clitus, and Meleager, half of the Companion cavalry, and all the cavalry of the Grecian mercenaries. He gave them instructions either to capture the places on their route by force, or to bring them over on terms of capitulation; and when they reached the river Indus, to make the necessary preparations for the passage of the army. With them Taxiles and the other chiefs also marched. When they reached the river Indus they carried out all Alexander's orders. But Astes, the ruler of the

land of Peucelaotis, effected a revolt, which both ruined himself and brought ruin also upon the city into which he had fled for refuge. For Hephæstion captured it after a siege of thirty days, and Astes himself was killed. Sangæus, who had some time before fled from Astes and deserted to Taxiles, was appointed to take charge of the city. This desertion was a pledge to Alexander of his fidelity.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### Battles with the Aspasians

Alexander now took command of the shield-bearing guards, the Companion cavalry with the exception of those who had been joined with Hephæstion's division, the regiments of what were called foot-Companions, the archers, the Agrianians and the horse-javelin-men, and advanced with them into the land of the Aspasians, Guræans and Assacenians. Marching by a mountainous and rough road along the river called Choës, which he crossed with difficulty, he ordered the main body of his infantry to follow at leisure: while he himself took all the cavalry, and 800 of the Macedonian infantry whom he mounted upon horses with their infantry shields, and made a forced march, because he had received information that the barbarians who inhabited that district had fled for safety into the mountains which extend through the land and into as many of their cities as were strong enough to resist attack. Assaulting the first of these cities which was situated on his route, he routed, at the first attack without any delay, the men whom he found drawn up in front of the city, and shut them up in it. He was himself wounded by a dart which penetrated through the breastplate into his shoulder, but his wound was only a slight one, for the breastplate prevented the dart from penetrating right through his shoulder. Leonatus and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, were also wounded. Then he encamped near the city at the place where the wall seemed most easy to assault. At dawn on the following day the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first wall,

as it had not been strongly built. The city had been surrounded with a double wall. At the second wall the barbarians stood their ground for a short time; but when the scaling ladders were now being fixed, and the defenders were being wounded with darts from all sides, they no longer stayed; but rushed through the gates out of the city towards the mountains. Some of them were killed in the flight, and the Macedonians, being enraged because they had wounded Alexander, slew all whom they took prisoners. Most of them, however, escaped into the mountains, because they were not far from the city. Having levelled this city with the ground, he marched to another, named Andaca, which he got possession of by capitulation. He left Craterus there with the other commanders of the infantry to capture all the remaining cities which would not yield of their own accord, and to set the affairs of the whole country in such order as he should find most convenient under the circumstances.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### Operations against the Aspasiens

Alexander now took command of the shield-bearing guard, the archers, the Agrianians, the brigades of Coenus and Attalus, the royal body-guard of cavalry, and half of the horse-archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where the chieftain of the Aspasiens was. After a long journey he arrived at the city on the second day. When the barbarians ascertained that he was approaching they set fire to the city and fled to the mountains. But Alexander followed close upon the fugitives as far as the mountains, and slaughtered many of them before they could manage to get away into the places which were difficult of access. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, observing that the leader himself of the Indians of that district was on a certain hill, and that he had some of his shield-bearing guards round him, though he had with himself far fewer men, yet he still continued to pursue him on horseback. But as the hill was difficult for his horse to run up, he left it

there, handing it over to one of the shield-bearing guards to lead. He then followed the Indian on foot without any delay. When the latter observed Ptolemy approaching, he turned round, and so did the shield-bearing guards with him. The Indian at close quarters struck Ptolemy on the chest through the breastplate with a long spear, but the breastplate checked the violence of the blow. Then Ptolemy, smiting right through the Indian's thigh, overthrew him, and stripped him of his arms. When his men saw their leader lying dead, they stood their ground no longer ; but the men on the mountains, seeing their chieftain's corpse being carried off by the enemy, were seized with indignation, and running down engaged in a desperate conflict over him on the hill. For Alexander himself was now on the hill with the infantry who had dismounted from the horses. These, falling upon the Indians, drove them away to the mountains after a hard struggle, and remained in possession of the corpse. Then crossing the mountains Alexander descended to a city called Arigacum, and found that this had been set on fire by the inhabitants, who had afterwards fled. There Craterus with his army reached him, after accomplishing all the king's orders ; and because this city seemed to be built in a convenient place, he directed that general to fortify it well, and settle in it as many of the neighbouring people as were willing to live there, together with any of the soldiers who were unfit for service. He then advanced to the place where he heard that most of the barbarians of the district had fled for refuge ; and coming to a certain mountain, he encamped at the foot of it. Meantime Ptolemy, son of Lagus, being sent out by Alexander on a forging expedition, and advancing a considerable distance with a few men to reconnoitre, brought back word to the king that he had observed many more fires in the camp of the barbarians than there were in Alexander's. But the latter did not believe in the multitude of the enemy's fires. Discovering, however, that the barbarians of the district had joined their forces into one body, he left a part of his army there near the mountain, encamped as they were, and advanced with as many men as seemed sufficient, according to the reports he had received. As soon as they could descry the fires near at hand, he divided his

army into three parts. Over one part he placed Leonnatus, the confidential body-guard, joining the brigades of Attalus and Balacrus with his own; the second division he put under the lead of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, including the third part of the royal shield-bearing guards, the brigades of Philip and Philotas, two regiments of archers, the Agrianians, and half of the cavalry. The third division he himself led towards the place where most of the barbarians were visible.

## CHAPTER XXV

### Defeat of the Aspasiens—The Assaceniens and Guraeans Attacked

When the enemy who were occupying the commanding heights perceived the Macedonians approaching, they descended into the plain, being emboldened by their superiority in number and despising the Macedonians, because they were seen to be few. A sharp contest ensued; but Alexander won the victory with ease. Ptolemy's men did not range themselves on the level ground, for the barbarians were occupying a hill. Wherefore Ptolemy, forming his battalions into column, led them to the point where the hill seemed most easily assailable, not surrounding it entirely, but leaving room for the barbarians to flee if they were inclined to do so. A hard contest also ensued with these men, both from the difficult nature of the ground, and because the Indians are not like the other barbarians of this district, but are far stronger than their neighbours. These men also were driven away from the mountain by the Macedonians. Leonnatus had the same success with the third division of the army, for his men also defeated those opposed to them. Ptolemy indeed says that all the men were captured, to a number exceeding 40,000, and that over 230,000 oxen were also taken, of which Alexander picked out the finest, because they seemed to him to excel both in beauty and size, wishing to send them into Macedonia to till the soil. Thence he marched towards the land of the Assaceniens; for he received news that these people had made



preparations to fight him, having 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and 30 elephants. When Craterus had thoroughly fortified the city, for the founding of which he had been left behind, he brought the heavier armed men of his army for Alexander as well as the military engines, in case it might be necessary to lay siege to any place. Alexander then marched against the Assacenians at the head of the Companion cavalry, the horse-javelin-men, the brigades of Coenus and Polysperchon, the Agrianians, the light-armed troops, and the archers. Passing through, the land of the Guracians, he crossed the river Guraeus, which gives its name to the land, with difficulty, both on account of its depth, and because its current is swift, and the stones in the river being round caused those who stepped upon them to stumble. When the barbarians perceived Alexander approaching, they durst not take their stand for a battle in close array, but dispersed one by one to their various cities with the determination of preserving these by fighting from the ramparts.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### Siege of Massaga

In the first place Alexander led his forces against Massaga, the largest of the cities in that district; and when he was approaching the walls, the barbarians, being emboldened by the mercenaries whom they had obtained from the more distant Indians to the number of 7,000, when they saw the Macedonians pitching their camp, advanced against them with a run. Alexander, seeing that the battle was about to be fought near the city, was anxious to draw them further away from their walls, so that if they were put to rout, as he knew they would be, they might not be able easily to preserve themselves by fleeing for refuge into the city close at hand. When therefore he saw the barbarians running out, he ordered the Macedonians to turn round and retreat to a certain hill distant something about seven stades from the place where he had resolved to encamp. The enemy being emboldened, as if the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them with a run

and with no kind of order. But when the arrows began to reach them, Alexander at once wheeled round at the appointed signal, and led his Phalanx against them with a run. His horse-javelin-men, Agrianians, and archers first ran forward and engaged with the barbarians, while he himself led the Phalanx in regular order. The Indians were alarmed at the unexpected manoeuvre, and as soon as the battle became a hand-to-hand conflict, they gave way and fled into the city. About 200 of them were killed, and the rest were shut up within the walls. Alexander then led his Phalanx up to the wall, from which he was soon after slightly wounded in the ankle with an arrow. On the next day he brought up his military engines and easily battered down a piece of the wall; but the Indians so gallantly kept back the Macedonians who were trying to force an entrance where the breach had been made, that he recalled the army for this day. But on the morrow the Macedonians themselves made a more vigorous assault, and a wooden tower was drawn up to the walls, from which the archers shot at the Indians, and missiles were hurled from the military engines which repulsed them to a great distance. But not even thus they were able to force their way within the wall. On the third day he led the Phalanx near again, and throwing a bridge from a military engine over to the part of the wall where the breach had been made, by this he led up the shield-bearing guards, who had captured Tyre for him in a similar way. But as many were urged on by their ardour the bridge received too great a weight, and was snapped asunder, so that the Macedonians fell with it. The barbarians, seeing what was taking place, raised a great shout, and shot at them from the wall with stones, arrows and whatever any one could lay hold of at the time. Others issued forth by the small gates which they had between the towers in the wall, and at close quarters struck the men who had been thrown into confusion by the fall.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### Sieges of Massaga and Ora

Alexander now sent Alcetas with his own brigade to recover the men who had been severely wounded, and to recall to the camp those who were assailing the enemy. On the fourth day he brought up another bridge against the wall in like manner upon another military engine. The Indians, as long as the ruler of the place survived, defended themselves gallantly; but when he was struck and killed with a missile hurled from an engine, and as some of their number had fallen in the siege, which had gone on without any cessation, while most of them were wounded and unfit for service, they sent a herald to Alexander. He was glad to preserve the lives of brave men; so he came to terms with the Indian mercenaries on this condition, that they should be admitted into the ranks with the rest of his army and serve as his soldiers. They therefore came out of the city with their arms and encamped by themselves upon a hill which was facing the camp of the Macedonians; but they resolved to arise by night and run away to their own abodes, because they were unwilling to take up arms against the other Indians. When Alexander received intelligence of this, he placed the whole of his army round the hill in the night, and intercepting them in the midst of their flight, cut them to pieces. He then took the city by storm, denuded as it was of defenders; and captured the mother and daughter of Assacenus. In the whole siege five-and-twenty of Alexander's men were killed. Thence he despatched Coenus to Bazira, entertaining an opinion that the inhabitants would surrender, when they heard of the capture of Massaga. He also despatched Attalus, Alcetas, and Demetrius, the cavalry officer, to another city, named Ora, with instructions to blockade it until he himself arrived. The men of this city made a sortie against the forces of Alcetas; but the Macedonians easily routed them, and drove them into the city within the wall. But affairs at Bazira were not favourable to Coenus, for the inhabitants showed no sign of capitulating, trusting to the strength of the place, because not only was it situated on a lofty eminence, but it was also thoroughly fortified

all round. When Alexander learnt this, he started off to Bazira, but ascertaining that some of the neighbouring barbarians were about to get into the city of Ora by stealth, being despatched thither by Abisares for that very purpose, he first marched to Ora. He ordered Coenus to fortify a certain strong position to serve as a basis of operations against the city of Bazira, and then to come to him with the rest of his army, after leaving in that place a sufficient garrison to restrain the men in the city from enjoying the free use of their land. But when the men of Bazira saw Coenus departing with the larger part of his army, they despised the Macedonians, as not being able to contend with them, and sallied forth into the plain. A sharply contested battle ensued, in which 500 of the barbarians fell, and over seven<sup>ty</sup> were taken prisoners. But the rest, fleeing for refuge into the city, were now more securely shut off from the country by the men in the fort. The siege of Ora proved an easy matter to Alexander, for he no sooner attacked the walls than at the first assault he got possession of the city, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### Capture of Bazira—Advance to The Rock of Aornus

When the men in Bazira heard this news, despairing of their own affairs, they abandoned the city about the middle of the night, and fled to the rock as the other barbarians were doing. For all the inhabitants deserted the cities and began to flee to the rock which is in their land, and is called Aornus. For stupendous is this rock in this land, about which the current report is, that it was found impregnable even by Heracles, the son of Zeus. I cannot affirm with confidence either way, whether the Theban, Tyrian, or Egyptian Heracles penetrated into India or not; but I am rather inclined to think that he did not penetrate so far; for men are wont to magnify the difficulty of all difficult enterprises to such a degree as to assert that they would have been impracticable even to Heracles. Therefore, I am inclined to

think, that in regard to this rock the name of Heracles was mentioned simply to add to the marvellousness of the tale. The circuit of the rock is said to be about 200 stades (i.e. about twenty-three miles,) and its height where it is lowest, eleven stades (i.e. about a mile and a quarter). There was only one ascent, which was artificial and difficult; on the summit of the rock there was abundance of pure water, a spring issuing from the ground, from which the water flowed; and there was also timber, and sufficient good arable land for 1,000 men to till. When Alexander heard this, he was seized with a vehement desire to capture this mountain also, especially on account of the legend which was current about Heracles. He then made Ora and Massaga fortresses to keep the land in subjection, and fortified the city of Bazira. Hephaestion and Perdiccas also fortified for him another city, named Orobatis, and leaving a garrison in it marched towards the river Indus. When they reached that river they at once began to carry out Alexander's instructions in regard to bridging it. Alexander then appointed Nicanor, one of the Companions, viceroy of the land on this side the river Indus; and in the first place leading his army towards that river, he brought over on terms of capitulation the city of Peucelaotis, which was situated not far from it. In this city he placed a garrison of Macedonians, under the command of Philip, and then reduced to subjection some other small towns situated near the same river, being accompanied by Cophacus and Assagetes, the chieftains of the land. Arriving at the city of Embolima, which was situated near the rock Aornus, he left Craterus there with a part of the army, to gather as much corn as possible into the city, as well as all the other things requisite for a long stay, so that making this their base of operations, the Macedonians might be able by a long siege to wear out the men who were holding the rock, supposing it were not captured at the first assault. He then took the bowmen, the Agrianians, and the brigade of Coenus, and selecting the lightest as well as the best-armed men from the rest of the Phalanx, with 200 of the Companion cavalry and 100 horse-bowmen, he advanced to the rock. This day he encamped where it appeared to him convenient;

but on the morrow he approached a little nearer to the rock, and encamped again.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### Siege of Aornus

At this juncture some of the natives came to him, and surrendering themselves, offered to lead him to the part of the rock where it could be most easily assailed, and from which it would be easy for him to capture the place. With these he sent Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the confidential body-guard, in command of the Agrianians and the other light armed troops, together with picked men from the shield-bearing guards. He gave this officer instructions, as soon as he had got possession of the place, to occupy it with a strong guard, and signal to him that it was held. Ptolemy proceeded along a road which was rough and difficult to pass and occupied the position without the knowledge of the barbarians. After strengthening this position with a stockade and a ditch all round, he raised a beacon from the mountain, whence it was likely to be seen by Alexander. The flame was at once seen, and on the following day the king led his army forward ; but as the barbarians disputed his advance, he could do nothing further on account of the difficult nature of the ground. When the barbarians perceived that Alexander could not make an assault, they turned round and attacked Ptolemy, and a sharp battle ensued between them and the Macedonians, the Indians making great efforts to demolish the stockade, and Ptolemy to preserve his position. But the barbarians, getting the worst of it in the skirmish, withdrew as the night came on. Alexander now selected from the Indian deserters a man who was not only devoted to him but acquainted with the locality, and sent him by night to Ptolemy, carrying a letter, in which it was written that as soon as the king attacked the rock, Ptolemy was to come down the mountain upon the barbarians, and not be contented with holding his position in guard ; so that the Indians, being assailed from both sides at once, might be in perplexity what course to pursue. Accordingly, starting

from his camp at daybreak, he led his army up the path by which Ptolemy had ascended by stealth, entertaining the opinion that if he could force his way in this direction and join his forces with those of Ptolemy, the work would no longer be difficult for him; and so it turned out. For until midday a smart battle was kept up between the Indians and the Macedonians, the latter striving to force a way of approach, and the former hurling missiles at them as they ascended. But as the Macedonians did not relax their efforts, advancing one after another, and those who were in advance rested till their comrades came up, after great exertions they gained possession of the pass early in the afternoon, and formed a junction with Ptolemy's forces. As the whole army was now united, Alexander led it on again against the rock itself. But the approach to it was still impracticable. Such then was the result of this day's labours. At the approach of the dawn he issued an order that each soldier individually should cut 100 stakes; and when these had been cut he heaped up a great mound towards the rock, beginning from the top of the hill where they had encamped. From this mound he thought the arrows as well as the missiles launched from the military engines would be able to reach the defenders of the rock. Every one in the army assisted him in this work of raising the mound; while he himself superintended it, as an observer, not only commending the man who completed his task with zeal and alacrity, but also chastising him who was dilatory in the pressing emergency.

### CHAPTER XXX

#### Capture of Aornus—Arrival at the Indus

On the first day his army constructed the mound the length of a stade; and on the following day the slingers shooting at the Indians from the part already finished, assisted by the missiles which were hurled from the military engines, repulsed the sallies which they made against the men who were constructing the mound. He went on with the work for three days without intermission, and on the fourth day a few of the

Macedonians forcing their way occupied a small eminence which was on a level with the rock. Without taking any rest, Alexander went on with the mound, being desirous of connecting his artificial rampart with the eminence which the few men were now occupying for him. But then the Indians, being alarmed at the indescribable audacity of the Macedonians, who had forced their way to the eminence, and seeing that the mound was already united with it, desisted from attempting any longer to resist. They sent their herald to Alexander, saying that they were willing to surrender the rock, if he would grant them a truce. But they had formed the design of wasting the day by continually delaying the ratification of the truce, and of scattering themselves in the night with the view of escaping one by one to their own abodes. When Alexander discovered this plan of theirs, he allowed them time to commence their retreat, and to remove the guard which was placed all round the place. He remained quiet until they began their retreat; then taking 700 of the bodyguards and shield-bearing infantry, he was the first to scale the rock at the part of it abandoned by the enemy; and the Macedonians ascended after him, one in one place, another in another, drawing each other up. These men at the concerted signal turned themselves upon the retreating barbarians, and killed many of them in their flight. Others retreating with panic and terror perished by leaping down the precipices; and thus the rock which had been inexpugnable to Heracles was occupied by Alexander. He offered sacrifice upon it, and built a fort, committing the superintendence of the garrison to Sisicottus, who long before had deserted from the Indians to Bessus in Bactra, and after Alexander had acquired possession of the country of Bactria, entered his army and appeared to be eminently trustworthy.

He now set out from the rock and invaded the land of the Assacenians; for he was informed that the brother of Assacenus, with his elephants and many of the neighbouring barbarians, had fled into the mountains in this district. When he arrived at the city of Dytra, he found none of the inhabitants either in it or in the land adjacent. On the following day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus, the colonels of



the shield-bearing guards, giving the former the command of the Agrianians and the light-armed troops, and the latter the command of his own regiment and two other besides. They were despatched both to reconnoitre the locality and to try if they could capture some of the barbarians anywhere in order to get information about the general affairs of the country; and he was especially anxious to learn news of the elephants. He now directed his march towards the river Indus, and his army going forward made a road, as otherwise this district would have been impassable. Here he captured a few of the barbarians, from whom he learnt that the Indians of that land had fled for safety to Abisares, but that they had left their elephants there to pasture near the river Indus. He ordered these men to show him the way to the elephants. Many of the Indians are elephant-hunters, and these Alexander kept in attendance upon him in high honour, going out to hunt the elephants in company with them. Two of these animals perished in the chase, by leaping down a precipice, but the rest were caught and being ridden by drivers were marshalled with the army. He also, as he was marching along the river, lighted upon a wood, the timber of which was suitable for building ships; this was cut down by the army, and ships were built for him, which were brought down the river Indus to the bridge, which had long since been constructed for him by Hephaestion and Perdicas.

## BOOK V

## CHAPTER I

## Alexander at Nysa

In this country, lying between the rivers Cophen and Indus, which was traversed by Alexander, the city of Nysa is said to be situated. The report is, that its foundation was the work of Dionysus, who built it after he had subjugated the Indians. But it is impossible to determine who this Dionysus was, and at what time, or from what quarter he led an army against the Indians. For I am unable to decide

whether the Theban Dionysus, starting from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, came into India at the head of an army, and after traversing the territories of so many war-like nations, unknown to the Greeks of that time, forcibly subjugated none of them except that of the Indians. But I do not think we ought to make a minute examination of the legends which were promulgated in ancient times about the deity; for things which are not credible to the man who examines them according to the rule of probability, do not appear to be wholly incredible, if one adds the divine agency to the story. When Alexander came to Nysa the citizens sent out to him their president, whose name was Acuphis, accompanied by thirty of their most distinguished men as envoys, to entreat Alexander to leave their city free for the sake of the god. The envoys entered Alexander's tent and found him seated in his armor still covered with dust from the journey, with his helmet on his head, and holding his spear in his hand. When they beheld the sight they were struck with astonishment, and falling to the earth remained silent a long time. But when Alexander caused them to rise, and bade them be of good courage, then at length Acuphis began thus to speak: "The Nysaeans beseech thee, O king, out of respect for Dionysus, to allow them to remain free and independent; for when Dionysus had subjugated the nation of the Indians, and was returning to the Grecian sea, he founded this city from the soldiers who had become unfit for military service, and were under his inspiration as Bacchanals, so that it might be a monument both of his wandering and of his victory to men of after times; just as thou also hast founded Alexandria near mount Caucasus, and another Alexandria in the country of the Egyptians. Many other cities thou hast already founded, and others thou wilt found hereafter, in the course of time, inasmuch as thou hast achieved more exploits than Dionysus. The god indeed called the city Nysa, and the land Nysaea, after his nurse Nysa. The mountain also which is near the city he named Meros (i.e., thigh), because, according to the legend, he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time we inhabit Nysa, a free city, and we ourselves are independent, conducting our government with constitutional order. And let this be to thee a proof

that our city owes its foundation to Dionysus ; for ivy, which does not grow in the rest of the country of India, grows among us."

## CHAPTER II

### Alexander at Nysa

All this was very pleasant to Alexander to hear ; for he wished that the legend about the wandering of Dionysus should be believed, as well as that Nysa owed its foundation to that deity, since he had himself reached the place where Dionysus came, and had even advanced beyond the limits of the latter's march. He also thought that the Macedonians would not decline still to share his labours if he advanced further, from a desire to surpass the achievement of Dionysus. He therefore granted the inhabitants of Nysa the privilege of remaining free and independent ; and when he heard about their laws, and that the Government was in the hands of the aristocracy, he commended these things. He required them to send 300 of their horsemen to accompany him, and to select and send 100 of the aristocrats who presided over the Government of the state, who also were 300 in number. He ordered Acuphis to make the selection, and appointed him Governor of the land of Nysaea. When Acuphis heard this, he is said to have smiled at the speech ; whereupon Alexander asked him why he laughed. Acuphis replied :— "How, O king, could a single city deprived of 100 of its good men be still well governed ? But if thou carest for the welfare of the Nysaeans, lead with thee the 300 horsemen and still more than that number if thou wishest : but instead of the hundred of the best men whom thou orderest me to select, lead with thee double the number of the others who are bad, so that when thou comest here again the city may appear : in the same good order in which it now is." By these remarks he persuaded Alexander ; for he thought he was speaking with prudence. So he ordered them to send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer demanded the hundred select men, nor indeed others in their stead. But he commanded

Acuphis to send his own son and his daughter's son to accompany him. He was now seized with a strong desire of seeing the place where the Nysaeans boasted to have certain memorials of Dionysus. So he went to Mount Merus with the Companion cavalry and the foot guard, and saw the mountain, which was quite covered with ivy and laurel and groves thickly shaded with all sorts of timber, and on it were chases of all kinds of wild animals. The Macedonians were delighted at seeing the ivy, as they had not seen any for a long time; for in the land of the Indians there was no ivy, even where they had vines. They eagerly made garlands of it, and crowned themselves with them, as they were, singing hymns in honour of Dionysus, and invoking the deity by his various names. Alexander there offered sacrifice to Dionysus, and feasted in company with his companions. Some authors have also stated, but I do not know if any one will believe it, that many of the distinguished Macedonians in attendance upon him, having crowned themselves with ivy, while they were engaged in the invocation of the deity, were seized with the inspiration of Dionysus, uttered cries of *Evoi* in honour of the god, and acted as Bacchanals.

### CHAPTER III

#### Incredulity of Eratosthenes—Passage of The Indus

Any one who receives these stories may believe or disbelieve them as he pleases. But I do not altogether agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, who says that everything which was attributed to the divine agency by the Macedonians was really said to gratify Alexander by excessive eulogy. For he says that the Macedonians, seeing a cavern in the land of the Parapamisadians, and hearing a certain legend which was current among the natives, or themselves forming a conjecture, spread the report that this forsooth was the cave where Prometheus had been bound, that an eagle frequented it to feast on his inward parts, that when Heracles arrived there he killed the eagle and set Prometheus free from his bonds. He also says that by their account the Macedonians trans-

ferred Mount Caucasus from the Euxine sea to the eastern parts of the earth, and the land of the Parapanisadians to that of the Indians; calling what was really mount Parapanisus by the name of Caucasus, in order to enhance Alexander's glory, seeing that he forsooth had gone over the Caucasus. He adds, that when they saw in India itself some oxen marked with the brand of a club, they concluded from this that Heracles had penetrated into India. Eratosthenes also disbelieves the similar tale of the wandering of Dionysus. Let me leave the stories about these matters undecided as far as I am concerned.

When Alexander arrived at the river Indus, he found a bridge made over it by Hephaestion, and two thirty-oared galleys, besides many smaller crafts. He moreover found that 200 talents of silver, 3,000 oxen, above 10,000 sheep for sacrificial victims, and thirty elephants had arrived as gifts from Taxiles the Indian; 700 Indian horsemen also arrived from Taxiles as a reinforcement, and that prince sent word that he would surrender to him the city of Taxila, the largest town between the river Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander there offered sacrifice to the gods to whom he was in the habit of sacrificing, and celebrated a gymnastic and horse contest near the river. The sacrifices were favourable to his crossing.

## CHAPTER IV

### Digression about India

The following are statements about the river Indus which are quite unquestionable, and therefore let me record them. The Indus is the largest of all the rivers in Asia and Europe, except the Ganges, which is also an Indian river. It takes its rise on this side of mount Parapanisus, or Caucasus, and discharges its water into the Great Sea which lies near India in the direction of the south wind. It has two mouths, both of which outlets are full of shallow pools like the five outlets of the Ister (Danube). ; It forms a Delta in the land of the Indians resembling that of Egypt; and this is called Pattala

in the Indian language. The Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis are also Indian rivers, and far exceed the other rivers of Asia in size; but they are not only smaller but much smaller than the Indus, just as that river itself is smaller than the Ganges. Indeed Ctesias says (if any one thinks his evidence to be depended upon), that where the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart; where it is broadest, 100 stades; and most of it is the mean between these breadths. This river Indus Alexander crossed at daybreak with his army into the country of the Indians; concerning whom, in this history I have described neither what laws they enjoy, nor what strange animals their land produces, nor how many and what sort of fish and water monsters are produced by the Indus, Hydaspes, Ganges, or the other rivers of India. Nor have I described the ants which work the gold for them, nor the guardian griffins, nor any of the other tales that have been composed rather to amuse than to be received as the relation of facts; since the falsity of the strange stories which have been fabricated about India will not be exposed by any one. However, Alexander and those who served in his army exposed the falsity of most of these tales; but there were even some of these very men who fabricated other stories. They proved that the Indians whom Alexander visited with his army, and he visited many tribes of them, were destitute of gold; and also that they were by no means luxurious in their mode of living. Moreover, they discovered that they were tall in stature, in fact as tall as any men throughout Asia, most of them being five cubits in height, or a little less. They were blacker than the rest of men, except the Ethiopians; and in war they were far the bravest of all the races inhabiting Asia at that time. For I cannot with any justice compare the race of the ancient Persians with those of India, though at the head of the former Cyrus, son of Cambyses, set out and deprived the Medes of the empire of Asia, and subdued many other races partly by force and partly by voluntary surrender on their own part. For at that time the Persians were a poor people and inhabitants of a rugged land, having laws and customs very similar to the Laconian discipline. Nor am I able with certainty to conjecture

whether the defeat sustained by the Persians in the Scythian land was due to the difficult nature of the country met with or to some other error on the part of Cyrus, or whether the Persians were really inferior in warlike matters to the Scythians of that district.

## CHAPTER V

### Mountains and rivers of Asia

But of the Indians I shall treat in a distinct work, giving the most credible accounts which were compiled by those who accompanied Alexander in his expedition as well as by Nearchus, who sailed right round the Great Sea which is near India. Then I shall add what has been compiled by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, two men of distinguished authority. I shall describe the customs peculiar to the Indians and the strange animals which are produced in the country, as well as the voyage itself in the external sea. But now let me describe so much only as appears to me sufficient to explain Alexander's achievements. Mount Taurus divides Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain which lies opposite the island of Samos; then cutting through the country of the Pamphylians and Cilicians, it extends into Armenia. From this country it stretches into Media and through the land of the Parthians and Chorasmians. In Bactria it unites with mount Parapamisus, which the Macedonians who served in Alexander's army called Caucasus, in order, as it is said, to enhance their king's glory; asserting that he went even beyond the Caucasus with his victorious arms. Perhaps it is a fact that this mountain range is a continuation of the other Caucasus in Scythia, as the Taurus is of the same. For this reason I have on a previous occasion called this range Caucasus, and by the same name I shall continue to call it in the future. This Caucasus extends as far as the Great Sea which lies in the direction of India and the East. Of the rivers in Asia worth consideration which take their rise from the Taurus and Caucasus, some have their course turned towards the north, discharging themselves either into the lake Maeotis, or into the sea

called Hyrcanian, which in reality is a gulf of the Great Sea. Others flow towards the south, namely, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, Hyphasis, and all those that lie between these and the river Ganges. All these either discharge their water into the sea, or disappear by pouring themselves out into marshes, as the river Euphrates does.

## CHAPTER VI

### General Description of India

Whoever arranges the position of Asia in such a way that it is divided by the Taurus and the Caucasus from the west wind to the east wind, will find that these two very large divisions are made by the Taurus itself, one of which is inclined towards the south and the south wind and the other towards the north and the north wind. Southern Asia again may be divided into four parts, of which Eratosthenes and Megasthenes make India the largest. The latter author lived with Sibyrtius, the viceroys of Arachosia, and says that he frequently visited Sandracottus, king of the Indians. These authors say that the smallest of the four parts is that which is bounded by the river Euphrates and extends to our inland sea. The other two lying between the rivers Euphrates and Indus are scarcely worthy to be compared with India, if they were joined together. They say that India is bounded towards the east and the east wind as far as the south by the Great Sea, towards the north by mount Caucasus, as far as its junction with the Taurus; and that the river Indus cuts it off towards the west and the north-west wind, as far as the Great Sea. The greater part of it is a plain, which, as they conjecture, has been formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers; just as the plains in the rest of the earth lying near the sea are for the most part due to the alluvial action of the rivers by themselves. Consequently, the names by which the countries are called were attached in ancient times to the rivers. For instance a certain plain was called after the Hermus, which rises in the country of Asia from the mountain of Mother Dindymene, and after flowing



past the Aeolian city of Smyrna discharges its water into the sea. Another Lydian Plain is named after the Cayster, a Lydian river; another in Mysia from the Caicus; and the Carian plain, extending as far as the Ionian city of Miletus, is named from the Maeander. Both Herodotus and Hecataeus, the historians (unless the work about the Egyptian country is by another person, and not by Hecataeus), in like manner call Egypt a gift of the river; and Herodotus has shown by no uncertain proofs that such is the case; so that even the country itself perhaps received its name from the river. For that the river which both the Egyptians and men outside Egypt now name the Nile, was in ancient times called Aegyptus, Homer is sufficient to prove; since he says that Menelaus stationed his ships at the outlet of the river Aegyptus. If therefore single rivers by themselves, and those not large ones, are sufficient to form an extensive tract of country, while flowing forward into the sea, since they carry down slime and mud from the higher districts whence they derive their sources, surely it is unbecoming to exhibit incredulity about India, how it has come to pass that most of it is a plain, which has been formed by the alluvial deposits of its rivers. For if the Hermus, the Cayster, the Caicus, the Maeander, and all the many rivers of Asia which discharge their waters into this inland sea were all put together, they would not be worthy of comparison for volume of water with one of the Indian rivers. Not only do I mean the Ganges, which is the largest, and with which neither the water of the Egyptian Nile nor the Inster flowing through Europe is worthy to compare; but if all those rivers were mingled together they would not even then become equal to the river Indus, which is a large river as soon as it issues from its spring, and after receiving fifteen rivers, all larger than those in the province of Asia, discharges its water into the sea, retaining its own name and absorbing those of its tributaries. Let these remarks which I have made about India suffice for the present, and let the rest be reserved for my "Description of India."

## CHAPTER VII

### Method of Bridging Rivers

How Alexander constructed his bridge over the river Indus is explained neither by Aristobulus nor Ptolemy, authors whom I usually follow; nor am I able to form a decided opinion whether the passage was bridged with boats, as the Hellespont was by Xerxes and the Bosphorus and the Ister were by Darius, or whether he made a continuous bridge over the river. To me it seems probable that the bridge was made of boats; for the depth of the water would not have admitted of the construction of a regular bridge, nor could so enormous a work have been completed in so short a time. If the passage was bridged with boats, I cannot decide whether the vessels being fastened together with ropes and moored in a row were sufficient to form the bridge, as Herodotus the Halicarnassian says the Hellespont was bridged, or whether the work was effected in the way in which the Romans constructed the bridge upon the Ister and in the way in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as necessity compelled them. However, as I know myself, the Romans find the quickest way of making a bridge to be with vessels; and this method I shall on the present occasion explain, because it is worth describing. At a preconcerted signal they let the vessels loose down the stream and the current carries them down, but a skiff furnished with oars holds them back, until it settles them in the place assigned to them. Then pyramidal wicker-baskets made of willow, full of unhewn stones, are let down into the water from the prow of each vessel, in order to hold it up against the force of the stream. As soon as any one of these vessels has been held fast, another is in the same way moored with its prow against the stream, distant from the first as far as is consistent with their supporting what is put upon them. Pieces of timber are quickly put on them, projecting out from both of them, on which cross-planks are placed to bind them together; and so proceeds the work through all the vessels which are required to bridge the river. At each end of this bridge firmly fixed gangways are thrown forward, so that the

approach may be safer for the horses and waggons, and at the same time to serve as a bond to the bridge. In a short time the whole is finished with a great noise and bustle; but yet discipline is not relaxed while the work is going on. In each vessel the occasional exhortations of the overseers, to the men, or their censures of sluggishness, neither prevent the orders being heard nor impede the rapidity of the work.

## CHAPTER VIII

### March from the Indus to the Hydaspes

This has been the method of constructing bridges, practised by the Romans from olden times; but how Alexander laid a bridge over the river Indus I cannot say, because those who served in his army have said nothing about it. But I should think that the bridge was made as near as possible as I have described, or if it were effected by some other contrivance so let it be. When Alexander had crossed to the other side of the river Indus, he again offered sacrifice there, according to his custom. Then starting from the Indus, he arrived at Taxila, a large and prosperous city, in fact the largest of those situated between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. He was received in a friendly manner by Taxiles, the governor of the city, and by the Indians of that place; and he added to their territory as much of the adjacent country as they asked for. Thither also came to him envoys from Abisares, king of the mountaineer Indians, the embassy including the brother of Abisares as well as the other most notable men. Other envoys also came from Doxares, the chief of the province, bringing gift with them. Here again at Taxila Alexander offered the sacrifices which were customary for him to offer, and celebrated a gymnastic and equestrian contest. Having appointed Philip, son of Machatas, viceroy of the Indians of that district, he left a garrison in Taxila, as well as the soldiers who were invalided by sickness, and then marched towards the river Hydaspes. For he was informed that Porus, with the whole of his army, was on the other side of that river, having determined either to prevent him from

making the passage, or to attack him while crossing. When Alexander ascertained this, he sent Coenus, son of Polemocrates, back to the river Indus, with instructions to cut in pieces all the vessels which he had prepared for the passage of that river, and to bring them to the river Hydaspes. Coenus cut the vessels in pieces and conveyed them thither, the smaller ones being cut into two parts, and the thirty-oared galleys into three. The sections were conveyed upon waggons, as far as the bank of the Hydaspes; and there the vessels were fixed together again, and seen as a fleet upon that river. Alexander took the forces which he had when he arrived at Taxila, and the 5,000 Indians under the command of Taxiles and the chiefs of that district, and marched towards the same river.

## CHAPTER IX

### Porus Obstructs Alexander's Passage

Alexander encamped on the bank of the Hydaspes, and Porus was seen with all his army and his large troops of elephants lining the opposite bank. He remained to guard the passage at the place where he saw Alexander had encamped; and sent guards to all the other parts of the river which were more easily fordable, placing officers over each detachment, being resolved to obstruct the passage of the Macedonians. When Alexander saw this, he thought it advisable to move his army in various directions, to distract the attention of Porus, and render him uncertain what to do. Dividing his army into many parts, he himself led some of his troops now into one part of the land and now into another, at one time ravaging the enemy's property, at another looking out for a place where the river might appear easier for him to ford it. The rest of his troops he entrusted to his different generals, and sent them about in many directions. He also conveyed corn from all quarters into his camp from the land on his side of the Hydaspes, so that it might be evident to Porus that he had resolved to remain quiet near the bank until the water of the river subsided in the winter, and afforded him a passage in

many places. As his vessels were sailing up and down the river, and skins were being filled with hay, and the whole bank appeared to be covered in one place with cavalry and in another with infantry, Porus was not allowed to keep at rest, or to bring his preparations together from all sides to any one point if he selected this as suitable for the defence of the passage. Besides, at this season all the Indian rivers were flowing with swollen and turbid waters and with rapid currents ; for it was the time of the year when the sun is wont to turn towards the summer solstice. At this season incessant and heavy rain falls in India ; and the snows on the Caucasus, whence most of the rivers have their sources, melt and swell their streams to a great degree. But in the winter they again subside, become small and clear, and are fordable in certain places, with the exception of the Indus, Ganges, and perhaps one or two others. At any rate the Hydaspes becomes fordable.

## CHAPTER X

### Alexander and Porus at the Hydaspes

Alexander therefore spread a report that he would wait for that season of the year, if his passage was obstructed at the present time ; but yet all the time he was waiting in ambush to see whether by rapidity of movement he could steal a passage anywhere without being observed. But he perceived that it was impossible for him to cross at the place where Porus himself had encamped near the bank of the Hydaspes, not only on account of the multitude of his elephants, but also because a large army, and that, too, arranged in order of battle and splendidly accoutred, was ready to attack his men as they emerged from the water. Moreover he thought that his horses would refuse even to mount the opposite bank, because the elephants would at once fall upon them and frighten them both by their aspect and trumpeting ; nor even before that would they remain upon the inflated hides during the passage of the river ; but when they looked across and saw the elephants on the other side they would become frantic and

leap into the water. He therefore resolved to steal a crossing by the following manoeuvre: In the night he led most of his cavalry along the bank in various directions, making a clamour and raising the battle-cry in honour of Enyalios. Every kind of noise was raised, as if they were making all the preparations necessary for crossing the river. Porus also marched along the river at the head of his elephants opposite the places where the clamour was heard, and Alexander thus gradually got him into the habit of leading his men along opposite the noise. But when this occurred frequently, and there was merely a clamour and a raising of the battle-cry, Porus no longer continued to move about to meet the expected advance of the cavalry; but perceiving that his fear had been groundless, he kept his position in the camp. However he posted his scouts at many places along the bank. When Alexander had brought it about that the mind of Porus no longer entertained any fear of his nocturnal attempts, he devised the follow stratagem.

## CHAPTER XI

### Alexandre's Stratagem to get across

There was in the bank of the Hydaspes, a projecting point, where the river makes a remarkable bend. It was densely covered by a grove of all sorts of trees; and over against it in the river was a woody island without a foot-track, on account of its being uninhabited. Perceiving that this island was right in front of the projecting point, and that both the spots were woody and adapted to conceal his attempt to cross the river, he resolved to convey his army over at this place. The projecting point and island were 150 stades distant from his great camp. Along the whole of the bank, he posted sentries, separated as far as was consistent with keeping each other in sight, and easily hearing when any order should be sent along from any quarter. From all sides also during many nights clamours were raised and fires were burnt. But when he had made up his mind to undertake the passage of the river, he openly prepared his measures for crossing

opposite the camp. Craterus had been left behind at the camp with his own division of cavalry, and the horsemen from the Arachosians and Parapamisadians, as well as the brigades of Alcetas and Polysperchon from the Phalanx of the Macedonian infantry, together with the chiefs of the Indians dwelling this side of the Hyphasis, who had with them 5,000 men. He gave Craterus orders not to cross the river before Porus moved off with his forces against them, or before he ascertained that Porus was in flight and that they were victorious. "If however," said he, "Porus should take only a part of his army and march against me, and leave the other part with the elephants in his camp, in that case do thou also remain in thy present position. But if he leads all his elephants with him against me, and a part of the rest of his army is left behind in the camp, then do thou cross the river with all speed. For it is the elephants alone," said he, "which render it impossible for the horses to land on the other bank. The rest of the army can easily cross."

## CHAPTER XII

### Passage of the Hydaspes

Such were the injunctions laid upon Craterus. Between the island and the great camp where Alexander had left this general, he posted Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with the Grecian mercenaries, cavalry and infantry, giving them instructions to cross in detachments, breaking up the army as soon as they saw the Indians already involved in battle. He then picked the select body-guard called the Companions, as well as the cavalry regiments of Hephaestion, Perdiccas, and Demetrius, the cavalry from Bactria, Sogdiana, and Scythia, and the Daan horse-archers; and from the phalanx of infantry the shield-bearing guards, the brigades of Clitus and Coenus, with the archers and Agrianians, and made a secret march, keeping far away from the bank of the river, in order not to be seen marching towards the island and headland, from which he had determined to cross. There the skins were filled in the night with the hay which had been procured

long before, and they were tightly stitched up. In the night a furious storm of rain occurred, on account of which his preparations and attempt to cross were still less observed, since the claps of thunder and the storm drowned with their din the clatter of the weapons and the noise which arose from the orders given by the officers. Most of the vessels, the thirty-oared galleys included with the rest, had been cut in pieces by his order and conveyed to this place, where they had been secretly fixed together again and hidden in the wood. At the approach of daylight, both the wind and the rain calmed down : and the rest of the army crossed over in the direction of the island, the cavalry mounting upon the skins, and as many of the foot soldiers as the boats would receive getting into them. They went so secretly that they were not observed by the sentinels posted by Porus, before they had already got beyond the island and were only a little way from the other bank.

### CHAPTER XIII

#### Passage of the Hydaspes

Alexander himself embarked in a thirty-oared galley and went over, accompanied by Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Lysimachus, the confidential body-guards, Seleucus, one of the Companions, who was afterwards king, and half of the shield-bearing guards ; the rest of these troops being conveyed in other galleys of the same size. When the soldiers got beyond the island, they openly directed their course to the bank ; and when the sentinels perceived that they had started, they at once rode off to Porus as fast as each man's horse could gallop. Alexander himself was the first to land, and he at once took the cavalry as they kept on landing from his own and the other thirty-oared galleys, and drew them up in proper order. For the cavalry had been arranged to land first ; and at the head of these in regular array he advanced. But through ignorance of the locality he had effected a landing on ground which was not a part of the mainland, but an island, a large one indeed, and wherefrom the fact that it was an island more easily escaped notice. It was cut off from the



rest of the land by a part of the river where the water was shallow. However, the furious storm of rain, which lasted the greater part of the night, had swelled the water so much that his cavalry could not find out the ford; and he was afraid that he would have to undergo another labour in crossing as great as the first. But when at last the ford was found, he led his men through it with much difficulty; for where the water was deepest, it reached higher than the breasts of the infantry; and of the horses only the heads rose above the river. When he had also crossed this piece of water, he selected the choice guard of cavalry, and the best men from the other cavalry regiments, and brought them up from column into line on the right wing. In front of all the cavalry he posted the horse-archers, and placed next to the cavalry in front of the other infantry the royal shield-bearing guards under the command of Seleucus. Near these he placed the royal foot-guard, and next to these the other shield-bearing guards, as each happened at the time to have the right of precedence. On each side, at the extremities of the phalanx, his archers, Agrianians and javelin-throwers were posted.

#### CHAPTER XIV

##### The Battle at the Hydaspes

Having thus arranged his army, he ordered the infantry to follow at a slow pace and in regular order, numbering, as it did, not much under 6,000 men; and because he thought he was superior in cavalry, he took only his horse-soldiers who were 5,000 in number, and led them forward with speed. He also instructed Tauron, the commander of the archers, to lead them on also with speed to back up the cavalry. He had come to the conclusion that if Porus should engage him with all his forces, he would easily be able to overcome him by attacking with his cavalry, or to stand on the defensive until his infantry arrived in the course of the action; but if the Indians should be alarmed at his extraordinary audacity in making the passage of the river and take to flight, he would be able to keep close to them in their flight, so that the slaughter on

them in the retreat being greater, there would be only a slight work left for him. Aristobulus says that the son of Porus arrived with about sixty chariots before Alexander made his later passage from the large island, and that he could have hindered Alexander's crossing (for he made the passage with difficulty even when no one opposed him), if the Indians had leaped down from their chariots and assaulted those who first emerged from the water. But he passed by with the chariots and thus made the passage quite safe for Alexander ; who on reaching the bank discharged his horse-archers against the Indians in the chariots, and these were easily put to rout, many of them being wounded. Other writers say that a battle took place between the Indians, who came with the son of Porus, and Alexander at the head of his cavalry when the passage had been effected, that the son of Porus came with a greater force, that Alexander himself was wounded by him, and that his horse Bucephalas, of which he was exceedingly fond, was killed, being wounded like his master by the son of Porus. But Ptolemy, son of Lagos, with whom I agree, gives a different account. This author also says that Porus dispatched his son, but not at the head of merely sixty chariots ; nor is it indeed likely that Porus hearing from his scouts that either Alexander himself or at any rate a part of his army had effected the passage of the Hydaspes, would dispatch his son against him with only sixty chariots. These indeed were too many to be sent out as a reconnoitring party, and not adapted for speedy retreat ; but they were by no means a sufficient force to keep back those of the enemy who had not yet got across, as well as to attack those who had already landed. Ptolemy says that the son of Porus arrived at the head of 2,000 cavalry and 120 chariots ; but that Alexander had already made even the last passage from the island before he appeared.

## CHAPTER XV

### Arrangements of Porus

Ptolemy also says that Alexander in the first place sent the horse-archers against these, and led the cavalry himself, thinking that Porus was approaching with all his forces, and that this body of cavalry was marching in front of the rest of his army, being drawn up by him as the vanguard. But as soon as he had ascertained with accuracy the number of the Indians, he immediately made a rapid charge upon them with the cavalry around him. When they perceived that Alexander himself and the body of cavalry around him had made the assault, not in line of battle regularly formed, but by squadrons, they gave way, and 400 of their cavalry, including the son of Porus, fell in the contest. The chariots also were captured, horses and all, being heavy and slow in the retreat, and useless in the action itself on account of the clayey ground. When the horsemen who had escaped from this rout brought news to Porus that Alexander himself had crossed the river with the strongest part of his army, and that his son had been slain in the battle, he nevertheless could not make up his mind what course to take, because the men who had been left behind under Craterus were seen to be attempting to cross the river from the great camp which was directly opposite his position. However, at last he preferred to march against Alexander himself with all his army, and to come into a decisive conflict with the strongest division of the Macedonians, commanded by the king in person. But nevertheless he left a few of the elephants together with a small army there at the camp to frighten the cavalry under Craterus from the bank of the river. He then took all his cavalry to the number of 4,000 men, all his chariots to the number of 300 with 200 of his elephants, and all the infantry available to the number of 30,000, and marched against Alexander. When he found a place where he saw there was no clay, but that on account of the sand the ground was all level and hard, and thus fit for the advance and retreat of horses, he there drew up his army. First he placed the elephants in the front, each animal being not less than a 100 ft. apart, so that

they might be extended in the front before the whole of the Phalanx of infantry, and produce terror everywhere among Alexander's cavalry. Besides he thought that none of the enemy would have the audacity to push themselves into the spaces between the elephants, the cavalry being deterred by the fright of their horses ; and still less would the infantry do so, it being likely they would be kept off in front by the heavy-armed soldiers falling upon them, and trampled down by the elephants wheeling round against them. Near these he had posted the infantry, not occupying a line on a level with the beast, but in a second line behind them, only so far behind that the companies of foot might be thrown forward a short distance into the spaces between them. He had also bodies of infantry standing beyond the elephants on the wings ; and on both sides of the infantry he had posted the cavalry, in front of which were placed the chariots on both wings of his army.

## CHAPTER XVI

### Alexander's Tactics

Such was the arrangement which Porus made of his forces. As soon as Alexander observed that the Indians were drawn up in order of battle, he stopped his cavalry from advancing farther, so that he might take up the infantry as it kept on arriving ; and even when the Phalanx in quick march had effected a junction with the cavalry, he did not at once draw it out and lead it to the attack, not wishing to hand over his men exhausted with fatigue and out of breath, to the barbarians who were fresh and untired. On the contrary, he caused his infantry to rest until their strength was recruited, riding along round the lines to inspect them. When he had surveyed the arrangement of the Indians, he resolved not to advance against the centre, in front of which the elephants had been posted, and in the gaps between them a dense phalanx of men arranged ; for he was alarmed at the very arrangements which Porus had made here with that express design. But as he was superior in the number of his

cavalry, he took the greater part of that force, and marched along against the left wing of the enemy for the purpose of making an attack in this direction. Against the right wing he sent Coenus with his own regiment of cavalry and that of Demetrius, with instructions to keep close behind the barbarians when they, seeing the dense mass of cavalry opposed to them, should ride out to fight them. Seleucus, Antigenes, and Tauron were ordered to lead the phalanx of infantry, but not to engage in the action until they observed the enemy's cavalry and phalanx of infantry thrown into disorder by the cavalry under his own command. But when they came within range of missiles, he launched the horse-archers, 1,000 in number, against the left wing of the Indians, in order to throw those of the enemy who were posted there into confusion by the incessant storm of arrows and by the charge of the horses. He himself with the Companion cavalry marched along rapidly against the left wing of the barbarians, being eager to attack them in flank while still in a state of disorder, before cavalry could be deployed in line.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Defeat of Porus

Meantime the Indians had collected their cavalry from all parts, and were riding along, advancing out of their position to meet Alexander's charge. Coenus also appeared with his men in their rear, according to his instructions. The Indians, observing this, were compelled to make the line of their cavalry face both ways; the largest and best part against Alexander, while the rest wheeled round against Coenus and his forces. This therefore at once threw the ranks as well as the decisions of the Indians into confusion. Alexander, seeing his opportunity, at the very moment the cavalry was wheeling round in the other direction, made an attack on those opposed to him with such vigour that the Indians could not sustain the charge of his cavalry, but were scattered and driven to the elephants, as to a friendly wall, for refuge. Upon this, the drivers of the elephants urged

forward the beasts against the cavalry; but now the phalanx itself of the Macedonians was advancing against the elephants, the men casting darts at the riders and also striking the beasts themselves, standing round them on all sides. The action was unlike any of the previous contests; for wherever the beasts could wheel round, they rushed further against the ranks of infantry and demolished the phalanx of the Macedonians dense as it was. The Indian cavalry also, seeing that the infantry were engaged in the action, rallied again and advanced against the Macedonian cavalry. But when Alexander's men, who far excelled both in strength and military discipline, got the mastery over them the second time, they were again repulsed towards the elephant and cooped up among them. By this time the whole of Alexander's cavalry had collected into one squadron, not by any command of his, but having settled into this arrangement by the mere effect of the struggle itself; and wherever it fell upon the ranks of the Indians they were broken up with great slaughter. The beasts being now cooped up into a narrow space, their friends were no less injured by them than their foes, being trampled down in their wheeling and pushing about. Accordingly there ensued a great slaughter of the cavalry, cooped up as it was in a narrow space around the elephants. Most of the keepers of the elephants had been killed by the javelins, and some of the elephants themselves had been wounded, while others no longer kept to their own side in the battle on account of their sufferings or from being destitute of keepers. But, as if frantic with pain, rushing forward at friends and foes alike, they pushed about, trampled down and killed them in every kind of way. However, the Macedonians, inasmuch as they were attacking the beasts in an open space and in accordance with their own plan, got out of their way whenever they rushed at them; and when they wheeled round to return, followed them closely and hurled javelins at them; whereas the Indians retreating among them were now receiving greater injury from them. But when the beasts were tired out, and were no longer able to charge with any vigour, they began to retire slowly, facing the foe like ships backing water, merely uttering a shrill piping sound. Alexander him-

self surrounded the whole line with his cavalry, and gave the signal that the infantry should link their shields together so as to form a very densely closed body, and thus advance in phalanx. By this means the Indian cavalry, with the exception of a few men, was quite cut up in the action; as was also the infantry, since the Macedonians were now pressing upon them from all sides. Upon this, all who could do so turned to flight through the spaces which intervened between the parts of Alexander's cavalry.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Losses of the Combatants—Porus Surrenders

At the same time Craterus and the other officers of Alexander's army who had been left behind on the bank of the Hydaspes crossed the river, when they perceived that Alexander was winning a brilliant victory. These men, being fresh, followed up the pursuit instead of Alexander's exhausted troops, and made no less a slaughter of the Indians in their retreat. Of the Indians little short of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry were killed in this battle. All their chariots were broken to pieces; and two sons of Porus were slain, as were also Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of that district, the managers of the elephants and of the chariots, and all the cavalry officers and generals of Porus's army. All the elephants which were not killed there, were captured. Of Alexander's forces, about 80 of the 6,000 foot-soldiers who were engaged in the first attack were killed; 10 of the horse-archers, who were also the first to engage in the action; about 20 of the Companion cavalry, and about 200 of the other horsemen fell. When Porus, who exhibited great talent in the battle, performing the deeds not only of a general but also of a valiant soldier, observed the slaughter of his cavalry, and some of his elephants lying dead, others destitute of keepers straying about in a forlorn condition, while most of his infantry had perished, he did not depart as Darius the Great King did, setting an example of flight to his men; but as long as any body of Indians remained compact in the

battle, he kept up the struggle. But at last, having received a wound on the right shoulder, which part of his body alone was unprotected during the battle, he wheeled round. His coat of mail warded off the missiles from the rest of his body, being extraordinary both for its strength and the close fitting of its joints, as it was afterwards possible for those who saw him to observe. Then indeed he turned his elephant round and began to retire. Alexander, having seen that he was a great man and valiant in the battle, was very desirous of saving his life. He accordingly sent first to him Taxiles the Indian ; who rode up as near to the elephant which was carrying Porus as seemed to him safe, and bade him stop the beast, assuring him that it was no longer possible for him to flee, and bidding him listen to Alexander's message. But when he saw his old foe Taxiles, he wheeled round and was preparing to strike him with a javelin ; and perhaps he would have killed him, if he had not quickly driven his horse forward out of the reach of Porus before he could strike him. But not even on this account was Alexander angry with Porus ; but he kept on sending others in succession ; and last of all Meroes, an Indian, because he ascertained that he was an old friend of Porus. As soon as the latter heard the message brought to him by Meroes, being at the same time overcome by thirst, he stopped his elephant and dismounted from it. After he had drunk some water and felt refreshed, he ordered Meroes to lead him without delay to Alexander ; and Meroes led him thither.

## CHAPTER XIX

### Alliance with Porus—Death of Bucephalus

When Alexander heard that Meroes was bringing Porus to him, he rode in front of the line with a few of the Companions to meet Porus ; and stopping his horse, he admired his handsome figure and his stature, which reached somewhat above five cubits. He was also surprised that he did not seem to be cowed in spirit, but advanced to meet him as one brave man would meet another brave man, after



having gallantly struggled in defence of his own kingdom against another king. Then indeed Alexander was the first to speak, bidding him say what treatment he would like to receive. The story goes that Porus replied: "Treat me, O Alexander, in a kingly way!" Alexander, being pleased at the expression, said: "For my own sake, O Porus, thou shalt be thus treated; but for thy own sake do thou demand what is pleasing to thee!" But Porus said that everything was included in that. Alexander, being still more pleased at this remark, not only granted him the rule over his own Indians, but also added another country to that which he had before, of larger extent than the former. Thus he treated the brave man in a kingly way, and from that time found him faithful in all things. Such was the result of Alexander's battle with Porus and the Indians living beyond the river Hydaspes, which was fought in the archonship of Hegemon at Athens, in the month of Munychion.

Alexander founded two cities, one where the battle took place, and the other on the spot whence he started to cross the river Hydaspes; the former he named Nicaca, after his victory over the Indians, and the latter Bucephala in memory of his horse Bucephalas, which died there, not from having been wounded by any one, but from the effects of toil and old age; for he was about thirty years old, and quite worn out with toil. This Bucephalas had shared many hardships and incurred many dangers with Alexander during many years, being ridden by none but the king, because he rejected all other riders. He was both of unusual size and generous in mettle. The head of an ox had been engraved upon him as a distinguishing mark, and according to some this was the reason why he bore that name; but others say, that though he was black he had a white mark upon his head which bore a great resemblance to the head of an ox. In the land of the Uxians this horse vanished from Alexander, who thereupon, sent a proclamation throughout the country that he would kill all the inhabitants unless they brought the horse back to him. As a result of this proclamation it was immediately brought back. So great was Alexander's attachment to the horse, and so great was the fear of

Alexander entertained by the barbarians. Let so much honour be paid by me to this Bucephalas for the sake of his master.

## CHAPTER XX

### Conquest of the Glausians—Embassy from Abisares —Passage of the Acesines

When Alexander had paid all due honours to those who had been killed in the battle, he offered the customary sacrifices to the gods in gratitude for his victory, and celebrated a gymnastic and horse contest upon the bank of the Hydaspes at the place where he first crossed with his army. He then left Craterus behind with a part of the army to erect and fortify the cities which he was founding there; but he himself marched against the Indians conterminous with the dominion of Porus. According to Aristobulus the name of this nation was Glauganicians; but Ptolemy calls them Glausians. I am quite indifferent which name it bore. Alexander traversed their land with half the Companion cavalry, the picked men from each phalanx of the infantry, all the horse-bowmen, the Agrianians, and the archers. All the inhabitants came over to him on terms of capitulation; and he thus took thirty-seven cities, the inhabitants of which, where they were fewest, amounted to no less than 5,000 and those of many numbered above 10,000. He also took many villages, which were no less populous than the cities. This land also he granted to Porus to rule; and sent Taxiles back to his own abode after effecting a reconciliation between him and Porus. At this time arrived envoys from Abisares, who told him that their king was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and Porus, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter. On this occasion he sent his brother with the other envoys to Alexander, taking with them money and forty elephants as a gift. Envoys also arrived from the independent Indians, and from a certain

other Indian ruler named Porus. Alexander ordered Abisares to come to him as soon as possible, threatening that unless he came he would see him arrive with his army at a place where he would not rejoice to see him. At this time Pharataphernes, viceroy of Parthia and Hyrcania, came to Alexander at the head of the Thracians who had been left with him. Messengers also came from Sisicottus, viceroy of the Assaceniens, to inform him that those people had slain their governor and revolted from Alexander. Against these he dispatched Philips and Tyriaspes with an army, to arrange and set in order the affairs of their land.

He himself advanced towards the river Acesines. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, has described the size of this river alone of those in India, stating that where Alexander crossed it with his army upon boats and skins, the stream was rapid and the channel was full of large and sharp rocks, over which the water being violently carried seethed and dashed. He says also that its breadth amounted to fifteen stades; that those who went over upon skins had an easy passage; but that not a few of those who crossed in the boats perished there in the water, many of the boats being wrecked upon the rocks and dashed to pieces. From this description then it would be possible for one to come to a conclusion by comparison, that the size of the river Indus has been stated not far from the fact by those who think that its mean breadth is forty stades, but that it contracts to fifteen stades where it is narrowest and therefore deepest; and that this is the width of the Indus in many places. I come then to the conclusion that Alexander chose a part of the Acesines where the passage was widest, so that he might find the current slower than elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XXI

### Advance beyond the Hydraotes

After crossing the river, he left Coenus with his own bridge there upon the bank, with instructions to superintend the passage of the part of the army which had been left

behind for the purpose of collecting corn and other supplies from the country of the Indians which was already subject to him. He now sent Porus away to his own abode, commanding him to select the most warlike of the Indians and take all the elephants he had and come to him. He resolved to pursue the other Porus, the bad one, with the lightest troops in his army, because he was informed that he had left the land which he ruled and had fled. For this Porus, while hostilities subsisted between Alexander and the other Porus, sent envoys to Alexander offering to surrender both himself and land subject to him, rather out of enmity to Porus than from friendship to Alexander. But when he ascertained that the former had been released, and that he was ruling over another large country in addition to his own, then, fearing not so much Alexander as the other Porus, his namesake, he fled from his own land, taking with him as many of his warriors as he could persuade to share his flight. Against this man Alexander marched, and arrived at the Hydraotes, which is another Indian river, not less than the Acesines in breadth, but less in swiftness of current. He traversed the whole country as far as the Hydraotes, leaving garrisons in the most suitable places, in order that Craterus and Coenus might advance with safety, scouring most of the land for forage. Then he dispatched Hephaestion into the land of the Porus who had revolted, giving him a part of the army, comprising two brigades of infantry, his own regiment of cavalry with that of Demetrius and half of the archers, with instructions to hand the country over to the other Porus, to win over any independent tribes of Indians which dwelt near the banks of the river Hydraotes, and to give them also into the hands of Porus to rule. He himself then crossed the river Hydraotes, not with difficulty, as he had crossed the Acesines. As he was advancing into the country beyond the bank of Hydraotes, it happened that most of the people yielded themselves up on terms of capitulation; but some came to meet him with arms, while others who tried to escape he captured and forcibly reduced to obedience.

## CHAPTER XXII

### Invasion of the Land of the Cathaeans

Meantime he received information that the tribe called Cathaeans and some other tribes of the independent Indians were preparing for battle, if he approached their land ; and that they were summoning to the enterprise all the tribes conterminous with them who were in like manner independent. He was also informed that the city, Sangala by name, near which they were thinking of having the struggle, was a strong one. The Cathaeans themselves were considered very daring and skilful in war ; and two other tribes of Indians, the Oxydracians and Mallians, were in the same temper as the Cathaeans. For a short time before, it happened that Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their own forces and had roused many other tribes of the independent Indians to arms, but were forced to retreat without effecting anything worthy of the preparations they had made. When Alexander was informed of this, he made a forced march against the Cathaeans, and on the second day after starting from the river Hydraotes he arrived at a city called Pimprama, inhabited by a tribe of Indians named Adraistaeans, who yielded to him on terms of capitulation. Giving his army a rest the next day, he advanced on the third day to Sangala, where the Cathaeans and the other neighbouring tribes had assembled and marshalled themselves in front of the city upon a hill which was not precipitous on all sides. They had posted their wagons all round this hill and were encamping within them in such a way that they were surrounded by a triple palisade of wagons. When Alexander perceived the great number of the barbarians and the nature of their position, he drew up his forces in the order which seemed to him especially adapted to his present circumstances, and sent his horse-archers at once without any delay against them, ordering them to ride along and shoot at them from a distance ; so that the Indians might not be able to make any sortie, before his army was in proper array, and that even before the battle commenced they might be wounded within their stronghold. Upon the

right wing he posted the guard of cavalry and the cavalry regiment of Clitus ; next to these the shield-bearing guards, and then the Agrianians. Towards the left he had stationed Perdiccas with his own regiment of cavalry, and the battalions of foot Companions. The archers he divided into two parts and placed them on each wing. While he was marshalling his army, the infantry and cavalry of the rear-guard came up. Of these, he divided the cavalry into two parts and left them to the wings, and with the infantry which came up he made the ranks of the phalanx more dense and compact. He then took the cavalry which had been drawn up on the right, and led it towards the wagons on the left wing of the Indians ; for here their position seemed to him more easy to assail, and the wagons had not been placed together so densely.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### Capture of Sangala

As the Indians did not run out from behind the wagons against the advancing cavalry, but mounted upon them and began to shoot from the top of them, Alexander, perceiving that it was not the work for cavalry, leaped down from his horse, and on foot led the phalanx of infantry against them. The Macedonians without difficulty forced the Indians from the first row of wagons ; but then the Indians, taking their stand in front of the second row, more easily repulsed the attack, because they were posted in denser array in a smaller circle. Moreover the Macedonians were attacking them likewise in a confined space, while the Indians were secretly creeping under the front row of wagons, and without regard to discipline were assaulting their enemy through the gaps left between the wagons as each man found a chance. But nevertheless even from these the Indians were forcibly driven by the phalanx of infantry. They no longer made a stand at the third row, but fled as fast as possible into the city and shut themselves up in it. During that day Alexander with his infantry encamped round the city, as much of it, at least, as his phalanx could surround ; for he could not with

his camp completely encircle the wall, so extensive was it. Opposite the part uninclosed by his camp, near which also was a lake, he posted the cavalry, placing them all round the lake, which he discovered to be shallow. Moreover, he conjectured that the Indians, being terrified at their previous defeat, would abandon the city in the night; and it turned out just as he had conjectured; for about the second watch of the night most of them dropped down from the wall, but fell in with the sentinels of cavalry. The foremost of them were cut to pieces by these; but the men behind them, perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, withdrew into the city again. Alexander now surrounded the city with a double stockade, except in the part where the lake shut it in, and round the lake he posted more perfect guards. He also resolved to bring military engines up to the wall, to batter it down. But some of the men in the city deserted to him, and told him that the Indians intended that very night to steal out of the city and escape by the lake, where the gap in the stockade existed. He accordingly stationed Ptolemy, son of Lagus, there, giving him three regiments of the shield-bearing guards, all the Agrianians, and one line of archers, pointing out to him the place where he especially conjectured the barbarians would try to force their way. "When thou perceivest the barbarians forcing their way here," said he, "do thou, with the army obstruct their advance, and order the bugler to give the signal. And do you, Oh officers, as soon as the signal has been given, each being arrayed in battle order with your own men, advance towards the noise, wherever the bugle summons you. Nor will I myself withdraw from the action."

## CHAPTER XXIV

### Capture of Sangala

Such were the orders he gave; and Ptolemy collected there as many waggons as he could from those which had been left behind in the first flight, and placed them athwart, so that there might seem to the fugitives in the night to be

many difficulties in their way ; and as the stockade had been knocked down, or had not been firmly fixed in the ground, he ordered his men to heap up a mound of earth in various places between the lake and the wall. This his soldiers effected in the night. When it was about the fourth watch, the barbarians, just as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates towards the lake, and made a run in that direction. However they did not escape the notice of the guards there, nor that of Ptolemy, who had been placed behind them to render aid. But at this moment the buglers gave the signal for him, and he advanced against the barbarians with his army fully equipped and drawn up in battle array. Moreover the waggons and the stockade which had been placed in the intervening space were an obstruction to them. When the bugle sounded and Ptolemy attacked them, killing the men as they kept on stealing out through the waggons, then indeed they turned back again into the city ; and in their retreat 500 of them were killed. In the meanwhile Porus arrived, bringing with him the elephants that were left to him, and 5,000 Indians. Alexander had constructed his military engines and they were being led up to the wall ; but before any of it was battered down, the Macedonians took the city by storm, digging under the wall, which was made of brick, and placing scaling ladders against it all round. In the capture 17,000 of the Indians were killed, and above 70,000 were captured, besides 300 chariots and 500 cavalry. In the whole siege a little less than 100 of Alexander's army were killed ; but the number of the wounded was greater than the proportion of the slain, being more than 1,200, among whom were Lysimachus, the confidential bodyguard, and other officers. After burying the dead according to his custom, Alexander sent Eumenes, the Secretary, with 300 cavalry to the two cities which had joined Sangala in revolt, to tell those who held them about the capture of Sangala, and to inform them that they would receive no harsh treatment from Alexander if they stayed there and received him as a friend ; for no harm had happened to any of the other independent Indians who had surrendered to him of their own accord. But they had become frightened, and had abandoned the



cities and were fleeing; for the news had already reached them that Alexander had taken Sangala by storm. When Alexander was informed of their flight he pursued them with speed; but most of them were too quick for him, and effected their escape, because the pursuit began from a distant starting place. But all those who were left behind in the retreat from weakness, were seized by the army and killed, to the number of about 500. Then, giving up the design of pursuing the fugitives any further, he returned to Sangala, and razed the city to the ground. He added the land to that of the Indians who had formerly been independent, but who had then voluntarily submitted to him. He then sent Porus with his forces to the cities which had submitted to him, to introduce garrisons into them; whilst he himself, with his army, advanced to the river Hyphasis, to subjugate the Indians beyond it. Nor did there seem to him any end of the war, so long as anything hostile to him remained.

## CHAPTER XXV

### The Army Refuses to Advance—Alexander's Speech to the Officers

It was reported that the country beyond the river Hyphasis was fertile, and that the men were good agriculturists, and gallant in war; and that they conducted their own political affairs in a regular and constitutional manner. For the multitude was ruled by the aristocracy, who governed in no respect contrary to the rules of moderation. It was stated that the men of that district possessed a much greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and that they were men of very great stature, and excelled in valour. These reports excited in Alexander an ardent desire to advance farther; but the spirit of the Macedonians now began to flag, when they saw the king raising one labour after another, and incurring one danger after another. Conferences were held throughout the camp, in which those

who were the most moderate bewailed their lot, while others resolutely declared that they would not follow Alexander any farther, even if he should lead the way. When he heard of this, before the disorder and pusillanimity of the soldiers should advance to a greater degree, he called a council of the officers of the brigades and addressed them as follows. "O Macedonians and Grecian allies, seeing that you no longer follow me into dangerous enterprises with a resolution equal to that which formerly animated you, I have collected you together into the same spot, so that I may be persuaded by you to return. If indeed the labours which you have already undergone up to our present position seem to you worthy of disapprobation, and if you did not approve of my leading you into them, there can be no advantages in my speaking any further. But if, as the result of these labours, you hold possession of Ionia, the Hellespont, both the Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt together with Grecian Libya, as well as part of Arabia, Hollow Syria, Syria between the rivers, Babylon, the nation of the Susians, Persia, Media, besides all the nations which the Persians and the Medes ruled, and many of those which they did not rule, the land beyond the Caspian Gates, the country beyond the Caucasus, the Tanias, as well as the land beyond that river, Bactria, Hyrcania, and the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have also subdued the Scythians as far as the desert; if, in addition to these, the river Indus flows through our territory, as do also the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do ye shrink from adding the Hyphasis also, and the nations beyond this river, to your empire of Macedonia? Do ye fear that your advance will be stopped in the future by any other barbarians? Of whom some submit to us of their own accord, and others are captured in the act of fleeing, while others, succeeding in their efforts to escape, hand over to us their deserted land, which we add to that of our allies, or to that of those who have voluntarily submitted to us.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### Alexander's Speech (continued)

"I, for my part, think, that to a brave man there is no end to labours except the labours themselves, provided they lead to glorious achievements. But if any one desires to hear what will be the end to our warfare itself, let him learn that the distance still remaining before we reach the river Ganges and the Eastern Sea is not great ; and I inform you that the Hyrcanian Sea will be seen to be united with this, because the Great Sea encircles the whole earth. I will also demonstrate both to the Macedonians and to the Grecian allies, that the Indian Gulf is confluent with the Persian, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian Gulf. From the Persian Gulf our expedition will sail round into Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles. From the Pillars all the interior of Libya becomes ours, and so the whole of Asia will belong to us, and the limits of our empire, in that direction, will be those which God has made also the limits of the earth. But, if we now return, many warlike nations are left unconquered beyond the Hyphasis as far as the Eastern Sea, and many besides between these and Hyrcania in the direction of the north wind, and not far from these the Scythian races. Wherefore, if we go back, there is reason to fear that the races which are not held in subjection, not being firm in their allegiance, may be excited to revolt by those who are not yet subdued. Then our many labours will prove to have been in vain ; or it will be necessary for us to incur over again fresh labours and dangers, as at the beginning. But, O Macedonians and Grecian allies, stand firm ! Glorious are the deeds of those who undergo labour and run the risk of danger ; and it is delightful to live a life of valour and to die, leaving behind immortal glory. Do ye not know that our ancestor reached so great a height of glory as from being a man to become a god, or to seem to become one, not by remaining in Tiryns or Argos, or even in the Peloponnese or at Thebes ? The labours of Dionysus were not few, and he was too exalted a deity to be compared with Heracles. But we, indeed, have penetrated into regions beyond Nysa ; and

the rock of Aornus, which Heracles was unable to capture, is in our possession. Do ye also add the parts of Asia still left unsubdued to those already acquired, the few to the many. But what great or glorious deed could we have performed, if, sitting at ease in Macedonia, we had thought it sufficient to preserve our own country without any labour, simply repelling the attacks of the nations on our frontiers,—the Thracians, Illyrians, and Triballians? If, indeed, without undergoing labour and being free from danger I were acting as your commander, while you were undergoing labour and incurring danger, not without reason would you be growing faint in spirit and resolution, because you alone would be sharing the labours, while procuring the rewards of them for others. But now the labours are common to you and me, we have an equal share of the dangers, and the rewards are open to the free competition of all. For the land is yours, and you act as its viceroys. The greater part also of the money now comes to you; and when we have traversed the whole of Asia, then, by Zeus, not merely having satisfied your expectations, but having even exceeded the advantages which each man hopes to receive, those of you who wish to return home I will send back to their own land, or I will myself lead them back; while those who remain here, I will make objects of envy to those who go back."

## CHAPTER XXVII

### The Answer of Coenus

When Alexander had uttered these remarks, and others in the same strain, a long silence ensued, for the auditors neither had the audacity to speak in opposition to the king without constraint, nor did they wish to acquiesce in his proposal. Hereupon, he repeatedly urged any one, who wished it, to speak, if he entertained different views from those which he had himself expressed. Nevertheless the silence still continued a long time; but at last, Coenus, son of Polemocrates, plucked up courage and spoke as follows:—"O king, inasmuch as thou dost not wish to rule Macedonians

by compulsion, but sayest thou wilt lead them by persuasion, or yielding to their persuasion wilt not use violence towards them, I am going to make a speech, not on my own behalf and that of my colleagues here present, who are held in greater honour than the other soldiers, and most of us have already carried off the rewards of our labours, and from our pre-eminence are more zealous than the rest to serve thee in all things; but I am going to speak on behalf of the bulk of the army. On behalf of this army I am not going to say what may be gratifying to the men, but what I consider to be both advantageous to thee at present, and safest for the future. I feel it incumbent upon me not to conceal what I think the best course to pursue, both on account of my age, the honour paid to me by the rest of the army at thy behest, and the boldness which I have without any hesitation displayed up to the present time in incurring dangers and undergoing labours. The more numerous and the great the exploits have been, which have been achieved by thee as our commander, and by those who started from home with thee, the more advantageous does it seem to me that some end should be put to our labours and dangers. For thou thyself seest how many Macedonians and Greeks started with thee, and how few of us have been left. Of our number thou didst well in sending back home the Thessalians at once from Bactra, because thou didst perceive that they were no longer eager to undergo labours. Of the other Greeks, some have been settled as colonists in the cities which thou hast founded; where they remain, not indeed all of them of their own free will. The Macedonian soldiers and the other Greeks who still continued to share our labours and dangers, have either perished in the battles, become unfit for war on account of their wounds, or been left behind in the different parts of Asia. The majority, however, have perished from disease, so that few are left out of many; and these few are no longer equally vigorous in body; while in spirit they are much more exhausted. All those whose parents still survive, feel a great yearning to see them once more; they feel a yearning after their wives and children, and a yearning for their native land itself; which it is surely

pardonable for them to yearn to see again with the honour and dignity they have acquired from thee, returning as great men, whereas they departed small, and as rich men instead of being poor. Do not lead us now against our will ; for thou wilt no longer find us the same men in regard to dangers, since free-will will be wanting to us in the contests. But, rather, if it seems good to thee, return of thy own accord to thy own land, see thy mother, regulate the affairs of the Greeks, and carry to the home of thy fathers these victories, so many and great. Then start afresh on another expedition, if thou wishest, against these very tribes of Indians situated towards the east ; or, if thou wishest, into the Euxine Sea ; or else against Carchedon and the parts of Libya beyond the Carchedonians. It is now thy business to manage these matters ; and other Macedonians and Greeks will follow thee, young men in place of old, fresh men in place of exhausted ones, and men to whom warfare has no terrors, because up to the present time they have had no experience of it ; and they will be eager to set out, from hope of future reward. The probability also is, that they will accompany thee with still more zeal on this account, when they see that those who in the earlier expedition shared thy labours and dangers have returned to their own abodes as rich men instead of being poor, and renowned instead of being obscure as they were before. Self-control in the midst of success is the noblest of all virtues, O king ! For thou hast nothing to fear from enemies, while thou art commanding and leading such an army as this, but the visitations of the deity are unexpected, and consequently men can take no precautions against them."

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### Alexander Resolves to Return

When Coenus had concluded this speech, loud applause was given to his words by those who were present ; and the fact that many even shed tears, made it still more evident that they were disinclined to incur further hazards, and that return would be delightful to them. Alexander then broke up the conference, being annoyed at the freedom of speech in

which Coenus indulged, and the hesitation displayed by the other officers. But the next day he called the same men together again in wrath, and told them that he intended to advance farther, but would not force any Macedonian to accompany him against his will ; that he would have those only who followed their king of their own accord ; and that those who wished to return home were at liberty to return and carry back word to their relations that they were come back, having deserted their king in the midst of his enemies. Having said this, he retired into his tent, and did not admit any of the Companions on that day, or until the third day from that, waiting to see if any change would occur in the minds of the Macedonians and Grecian allies, as is wont to happen as a general rule among a crowd of soldiers, rendering them more disposed to obey. But on the contrary, when there was a profound silence throughout the camp, and the soldiers were evidently annoyed at his wrath, without being at all changed by it, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that he none the less offered sacrifice there for the passage of the river, but the victims were unfavourable to him when he sacrificed. Then indeed he collected the oldest of the Companions and especially those who were friendly to him, and as all things indicated the advisability of his returning, he made known to the army that he had resolved to march back again.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### Alexander recrosses the Hydraotes and Acesines

Then they shouted as a mixed multitude would shout when rejoicing ; and most of them shed tears of joy. Some of them even approached the royal tent, and prayed many blessings upon Alexander ; because by them alone he suffered himself to be conquered. Then he divided the army into brigades, and ordered twelve altars to be prepared, equal in height to very large towers, and in breadth much larger than towers, to serve as thank-offerings to the gods who had led him so far as a conqueror, and also to serve as monuments of his own labours. When the altars were completed, he

offered sacrifice upon them according to his custom, and celebrated a gymnastic equestrian contest. After adding the country as far as the river Hyphasis to the dominion of Porus, he marched back to the Hydraotes. Having crossed this river, he continued his return march to the Acesines, where he found the city which Hephaestion had been ordered to fortify, quite built. In this city he settled as many of the neighbouring people as volunteered to live in it, as well as those of the Grecian mercenaries who were now unfit for military service ; and then began to make the necessary preparations for a voyage down the river into the Great Sea. At this time Arsaces, the ruler of the land bordering on that of Abisares, and the brother of the latter, with his other relations, came to Alexander, bringing the gifts which are reckoned most valuable among the Indians, including some elephants from Abisares, thirty in number. They declared that Abisares himself was unable to come on account of illness ; and with these men the ambassadors sent by Alexander to Abisares agreed. Readily believing that such was the case, he granted that prince the privilege of ruling his own country as his viceroy, and placed Arsaces also under his power. After arranging what tribute they were to pay, he again offered sacrifice near the river Acesines. He then crossed that river again, and came to the Hydaspes, where he employed the army in repairing the damage caused to the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala by the rain, and put the other affairs of the country in order.

## BOOK VI

### CHAPTER I

#### Preparations for a Voyage down the Indus

Alexander now resolved to sail down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea, after he had prepared on the bank of that river many thirty-oared galleys and others with one and a half bank of oars, as well as a number of vessels for conveying horses, and all the other things requisite for the easy con-



veyance of an army on a river. At first he thought he had discovered the origin of the Nile, when he saw crocodiles in the river Indus, which he had seen in no other river except the Nile, as well as beans growing near the banks of the Acesines of the same kind as those which the Egyptian land produces. This conjecture was confirmed when he heard that the Acesines falls into the Indus. He thought the Nile rises somewhere or other in India, and after flowing through an extensive tract of desert country loses the name of Indus there ; but afterwards when it begins to flow again through the inhabited land, it is called Nile both by the Aethiopians of that district and by the Egyptians, and finally empties itself into the Inner Sea. In like manner Homer made the river Egypt give its name to the country of Egypt. Accordingly when he wrote to Olympias about the country of India, after mentioning other things, he said that he thought he had discovered the sources of the Nile, forming his conclusions about things so great from such small and trivial premisses. However, when he had made a more careful inquiry into the facts relating to the river Indus, he learned the following details from the natives :— That the Hydaspes unites its water with the Acesines, as the latter does with the Indus, and that they both yield up their names to the Indus ; that the last-named river has two mouths, through which it discharges itself into the Great Sea ; but that it has no connection with the Egyptian country. He then removed from the letter to his mother the part he had written about the Nile. Planning a voyage down the rivers as far as the Great Sea, he ordered ships for this purpose to be prepared for him. The crews of his ships were fully supplied from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians who accompanied the army.

## CHAPTER II

### Voyage down the Hydaspes

At this time Coenus, who was one of Alexander's most faithful Companions, fell ill and died, and the king buried him with as much magnificence as circumstances allowed.

Then collecting the Companions and the Indian envoys who had come to him, he appointed Porus king of the part of India which had already been conquered, seven nations in all, containing more than 2,000 cities. After this he made the following distribution of his army. With himself he placed on board the ship all the shield-bearing guards, the archers, the Agrianians and the body-guard of cavalry. Craterus led a part of the infantry and cavalry along the right bank of the Hydaspes, while along the other bank Hephaestion advanced at the head of the most numerous and efficient part of the army, including the elephants, which now numbered about 200. These generals were ordered to march as quickly as possible to the place where the palace of Sopeithes was situated, and Philips, the viceroy of the country beyond the Indus extending to Bactria, was ordered to follow them with his forces after an interval of three days. He sent the Nysæan cavalry back to Nysa. The whole of the naval force was under the command of Nearchus ; but the pilot of Alexander's ship was Onesicritus, who, in the narrative which he composed of Alexander's campaigns, falsely asserted that he was admiral, while in reality he was only a pilot. According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, whose statements I chiefly follow, the entire number of the ships was eighty thirty-oared galleys ; but the whole number of vessels, including the horse transports and boats, and all the other river crafts, both those previously plying on the rivers and those built at that time, fell not far short of 2,000.

### CHAPTER III

#### Voyage down the Hydaspes (continued)

When he had made all the necessary preparations, the army began to embark at the approach of the dawn ; while according to custom he offered sacrifice to the gods and to the river Hydaspes, as the prophets directed. When he had embarked, he poured a libation into the river from the prow of the ship out of a golden goblet, invoking the Acesines as

well as the Hydaspes, because he had ascertained that it is the largest of all the rivers which unite with the Hydaspes, and that their confluence was not far off. He also invoked the Indus, into which the Acesines flows after its junction with the Hydaspes. Moreover he poured out libations to his forefather Heracles, to Ammon, and the other gods to whom he was in the habit of sacrificing, and then he ordered the signal for starting seawards to be given with the trumpet. As soon as the signal was given they commenced the voyage in regular order; for directions had been given how many abreast it was necessary for the baggage vessels to be arranged, as also for the vessels conveying the horses and for the ships of war; so that they might not fall foul of each other by sailing down the channel at random. He did not allow even the fast-sailing ships to get out of rank by outstripping the rest. The noise of the rowing was never equalled on any other occasion, inasmuch as it proceeded from so many ships rowed at the same time; also the shout of the boatswains giving the time for beginning and stopping the stroke of the oars, and that of the rowers, when keeping time all together, they made a noise like a battle-cry with the dashing of their oars. The banks of the river also, being in many places higher than the ships, and collecting the sound into a narrow space, sent it back to each other very much increased by its very compression. In some parts, too, groves of trees on each side of the river helped to swell the sound, both from the solitude and the reverberation of the noise. The horses which were visible on the decks of the transports struck the barbarians who saw them with such surprise that those of them who were present at the starting of the fleet accompanied it a long way from the place of embarkation. For horses had never before been seen on board ships in the country of India; and the natives did not call to mind that the expedition of Dionysus into India was a naval one. The shouting of the rowers and the noise of the rowing were heard by the Indians who had already submitted to Alexander and these came running down to the river's bank and accompanied him singing their native songs. For the Indians have been eminently fond of singing and dancing since the time of

Dionysus and those who, under his Bacchic inspiration, traversed the land of the Indians with him.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### Voyage down the Hydaspes into the Acesines

Sailing thus, he stopped on the third day at the spot where he had instructed Hephaestion and Craterus to encamp on opposite banks of the river at the same place. Here he remained two days, until Philip with the rest of the army came up with him. He then sent this general with the men he brought with him to the river Acesines, with orders to march along the bank that river. He also sent Craterus and Hephaestion off again with instructions how they were to conduct the march. But he himself continued his voyage down the river Hydaspes, the channel of which is nowhere less than twenty stades broad. Wherever he happened to moor his vessels near the banks, he received some of the Indians dwelling near into allegiance by surrender on terms of agreement, while he reduced by force those who came into a trial of strength with him. Then he sailed rapidly towards the country of the Mallians and Oxydracians, ascertaining that these tribes were the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in that region; and having been informed that they had put their wives and children for safety into their strongest cities, with the resolution of fighting a battle with him, he made the voyage with greater speed with the express design of attacking them before they had arranged their plans, and while there was still lack of preparation and a state of confusion among them. Thence he made his second start, and on the fifth day reached the junction of the Hydaspes and Acesines. Where these rivers unite, one very narrow river is formed out of the two; and on account of its narrowness the current is swift. There are also prodigious eddies in the whirling stream, and the water rises in waves and plashes exceedingly, so that the noise of the swell of waters is distinctly heard by people while they are still far off. These things had previously been reported to Alexander

by the natives, and he had told his soldiers ; and yet, when his army approached the junction of the rivers, the noise made by the stream produced so great an impression upon them that the sailors stopped rowing, not from any word of command, but because the very boatswains who gave the time to the rowers became silent from astonishment and stood aghast at the noise.

## CHAPTER V

### Voyage down the Acesines

When they came near the junction of the rivers, the pilots passed on the order that the men should row as hard as possible to get out of the narrows, so that the ships might not fall into the eddies and be overturned by them, but might, by the vigorous rowing, overcome the whirlings of the water. Being of a round form, the merchant vessels which happened to be whirled round by the current received no damage from the eddy, but the men who were on board were thrown into disorder and fright. For being kept upright by the force of the stream itself, these vessels settled again into the onward course. But the ships of war, being long, did not emerge so scatheless from the whirling current, not being raised aloft in the same way as the others upon the plashing swell of water. Those ships, which had two ranks of oars on each side, had the lower oars only a little out of the water ; and the oars of these getting athwart in the eddies were snapped asunder, at any rate those which were caught by the water, and the workers of which did not raise them in time. Thus many of the ships were damaged ; two indeed fell foul of each other and were destroyed, and many of those sailing in them perished. But when the river widened out, there the current was no longer so rapid, and eddies did not whirl round with so much violence. Alexander therefore moored his fleet on the right bank, where there was a protection from the force of the stream and a roadstead for the ship. A certain promontory also in the river jutted out conveniently for collecting the wrecks. He preserved the lives of the men who were still being con-

veyed upon them ; and when he had repaired the damaged ships, he ordered Nearchus to sail down the river until he reached the confines of the nation called Mallians. He himself made an inroad into the territories of the barbarians who would not yield to him, and after preventing them from succouring the Mallians, he again formed a junction with the naval armament. Hephaestion, Craterus, and Philip had already united their forces here. Alexander then transported the elephants, the brigade of Polysperchon, the horse-archers, and Philip with his army, across the river Hydaspes, and instructed Craterus to lead them. He sent Nearchus with the fleet with orders to set sail three days before the army started. He divided the rest of his army into three parts, and ordered Hephaestion to go five days in advance, so that if any should flee before the men under his own command and go rapidly forward they might fall in with Hephaestion's brigade and thus be captured. He also gave a part of the army to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, with orders to follow him after the lapse of three days, so that all those who fled from him and turned back again might fall in with Ptolemy's brigade. He ordered those in advance to wait, when they arrived at the confluence of the rivers Acesines and Hydraotes, until he himself came up ; and he instructed Craterus and Ptolemy also to form a junction with him at the same place.

## CHAPTER VI

### Campaign against the Mallians

He then took the shield-bearing guards, the bowmen, the Agrianians, Peithon's brigade of men, from those who were called foot Companions, all the horse bowmen and half the cavalry Companions, and marched through a tract of country destitute of water against the Mallians, a tribe of the independent Indians. On the first day he encamped near a small piece of water which was about 100 stades distant from the river Acesines. Having dined there and caused his army to rest a short time, he ordered every man to fill whatever vessel he had with water. After travelling the remaining

part of that day and all the ensuing night a distance of about 400 stades, he at daybreak reached the city into which many of the Mallians had fled for refuge. Most of them were outside the city and unarmed, supposing that Alexander would never come against them through the waterless country. It was evident that he led his army by this route for this very reason, because it was difficult to lead an army this way, and consequently it appeared incredible to the enemy that he would lead his forces in this direction. He therefore fell upon them unexpectedly, and killed most of them without their even turning to defend themselves, since they were unarmed. He cooped the rest up in the city, and posted his cavalry all round the wall, because the Phalanx of infantry had not yet come up with him. He thus made use of his cavalry in place of a stockade. As soon as the infantry arrived, he sent Perdicas with his own cavalry regiment and that of Clitus, as well as the Agrianians, against another city of the Mallians, whither many of the Indians of that region had fled for refuge. He ordered Perdicas to blockade the men in the city, but not to commence the action until he himself should arrive, so that none might escape from this city and carry news to the rest of the barbarians that Alexander was already approaching. He then began to assault the wall; but the barbarians abandoned it, finding that they were no longer able to defend it, since many had been killed in the capture, and others had been rendered unfit for fighting on account of their wounds. Fleeing for refuge into the citadel, they defended themselves for some time from a position commanding from its height and difficult to access. But as the Macedonians pressed on vigorously from all sides, and Alexander himself appeared now in this part of the action and now in that, the citadel was taken by storm, and all the men who had fled into it for refuge were killed, to the number of 2,000. Perdicas also reached the city to which he had been dispatched and found it deserted; but learning that the inhabitants had fled from it not long before, he made a forced march on the track of the fugitives. The light-armed troops followed him as quickly as they could on foot, so that he took and massacred as many of the fugitives as could not outstrip him and flee for safety into the river-marshes.

## CHAPTER VII

## Campaign against the Mallians (continued)

After dining and causing his men to rest until the first watch of the night, Alexander marched forward; and travelling a great distance through the night, he arrived at the river Hydraotes at daybreak. There he ascertained that most of the Mallians had already crossed the river; but coming upon those who were still in the act of crossing, he slew many of them around the ford itself. Having crossed with them in pursuit without any delay by the same ford, he kept close up with those who had outstripped him in their retreat. Many also of these he slew; some he took prisoners; but the majority of them escaped into a place strong by nature and made more so by fortifications. When the infantry reached him, Alexander dispatched Peithon against the men in the fortress, giving him the command of his own brigade of infantry and two regiments of cavalry. These, attacking the place, took it at the first assault, and made slaves of all those who had fled thither for safety, at least as many of them as had not perished in the attack. After accomplishing this, Peithon returned again to the camp. Alexander in person led his forces against a certain city of the Branchmans, because he ascertained that some of the Mallians had fled for refuge into it. When he reached it, he led his phalanx in serried ranks close up to the wall on all sides. The enemy seeing that their walls were undermined, and being themselves repulsed by the missiles, abandoned the walls, and having fled for safety into the citadel, began to defend themselves from thence. A few Macedonians having rushed in with them, they turned round and drawing together into a close body, drove them out and killed five-and-twenty of them in their retreat. Hereupon Alexander ordered the scaling-ladders to be placed against the citadel on all sides, and when the wall between two towers was breached, and thus rendered the citadel more accessible to assault in this quarter, he was seen to be the first man to scale the wall and get hold of it. The other Macedonians seeing him were ashamed of themselves and mounted the ladders in various places. The citadel was soon in their possession. Some of the Indians began to set fire to the houses, and being caught in them were killed; but most of them were slain fighting. About 5,000 in all were killed; and on account of their valour, only a few were taken prisoners.



## CHAPTER VIII

## Defeat of the Mallians at the River Hydraotes.

Having remained there one day to give his army rest, he advanced on the morrow against the other Mallians. He found the cities abandoned, and ascertained that the men had fled into the desert. There he again gave the army one day's rest, and on the next day sent Peithon and Demetrius, the cavalry general, back to the river, in command of their own troops, giving them in addition as many battalions of the light-armed infantry as were sufficient for the enterprise. Their instructions were to go along the bank of the river, and if they met any of those who had fled for safety into the woods, of which there were many near the river's bank, to kill all who refused to surrender. Peithon and Demetrius captured many of these in the woods and killed them. He himself led his forces against the largest city of the Mallians, whither he was informed many from the other cities had taken refuge. But this also the Indians abandoned when they heard that Alexander was marching against it. Crossing the river Hydraotes, they remained with their forces drawn up upon its bank, because it was high, with the intention of obstructing Alexander's passage. When he heard this, he took all the cavalry which he had with him, and went to the part of the river where he was informed that the Mallians had drawn themselves up for battle; and the infantry was ordered to follow. When he reached the river and beheld the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank, he made no delay, but instantly, without resting from the journey, plunged into the ford with the cavalry alone. When they saw that he was now in the middle of the river, though they were drawn up ready for battle, they withdrew from the bank with all speed; and Alexander followed them with his cavalry alone. But when the Indians perceived only cavalry, they wheeled round and fought with desperate valour, being about 50,000 in number. When Alexander perceived that their phalanx was densely compact, as his own infantry was absent, he rode right round their army and made charges upon them, but did not come to close fighting with them. Meanwhile the archers, the Agrianians and the other select battalions of light-armed infantry, which he was leading with him, arrived, and his phalanx of infantry was seen not far off. As all kinds of danger were threatening them at once, the Indians now

wheeled round again and began to flee with headlong speed into the strongest of their adjacent cities; but Alexander followed them and slew many, while those who escaped into the city were cooped up within it. At first indeed he surrounded the city with the horse-soldiers as they came up from the march; but when the infantry arrived, he encamped all round the wall for this day, because not much of it was left for making the assault, and his army had been exhausted, the infantry by the long march, and the horses by the uninterrupted pursuit, and especially by the passage of the river.

## CHAPTER IX

### Storming of the Mallian Stronghold.

On the following day, dividing the army into two parts, he himself assaulted the wall at the head of one, and Perdiccas led on the other. Upon this the Indians did not wait to receive the attack of the Macedonians, but abandoned the walls of the city and fled for safety into the citadel. Alexander and his troops therefore split open a small gate, and got within the city long before the others; for those who had been put under Perdiccas were behind time, having experienced difficulty in scaling the walls, as most of them did not bring ladders, thinking that the city had been captured, when they observed that the walls were deserted by the defenders. But when the citadel was seen to be still in the possession of the enemy, and many of them were observed drawn up in front of it to repel attacks, some of the Macedonians tried to force an entry by undermining the wall, and others by placing scaling ladders against it, wherever it was practicable to do so. Alexander, thinking that the men who carried the ladders were too slow, snatched one from a man who was carrying it, placed it against the wall himself, and began to mount it, crouching under his shield. After him mounted Peucestas, the man who carried the sacred shield which Alexander took from the temple of the Trojan Athena and used to keep with him and have it carried before him in all his battles. After Peucestas, by the same ladder ascended Leonnatus, the confidential body-guard; and up another ladder went Abreas, one of the soldiers who received double pay for distinguished services. The king was now near the battlement of the wall, and leaning his shield against it was

pushing some of the Indians within the fort, and had cleared that part of the wall, by killing others with his sword. The shield-bearing guards becoming very anxious for the King's safety, pushed each other with ardour up the same ladder and broke it; so that those who were already mounting fell down and made the ascent impracticable for the rest. Alexander then, standing upon the wall, was being assailed all round from the adjacent towers; for none of the Indians dared approach him. He was also being assailed by the men in the city, who were throwing darts at him from no great distance; for a mound of earth happened to have been heaped up there opposite the wall. Alexander was conspicuous both by the brilliancy of his weapons and by his extraordinary display of audacity. He therefore perceived that if he remained where he was, he would be incurring danger without being able to perform anything at all worthy of consideration; but if he leaped down within the fort he might perhaps by this very act strike the Indians with terror, and if he did not, but should only thereby be incurring danger, at any rate he would die not ignobly after performing great deeds of valour worth hearing about by men of after times. Forming this resolution, he leaped down from the wall into the citadel; where, supporting himself against the wall, he struck with his sword and killed some of the Indians, who came to close quarters with him, including their leader, who rushed upon him too boldly. Another man who approached him he kept in check by hurling a stone at him, and a third in like manner. Another who advanced nearer to him he again kept off with his sword; so that the barbarians were no longer willing to approach him, but standing round him cast at him from all sides whatever missile any one happened to have or could get hold of at the time.

## CHAPTER X

### Alexander Dangerously Wounded.

Meantime Peucestras and Abreas, the soldier entitled to double pay, and after them Leonnatus, being the only men who happened to have scaled the walls before the ladders were broken, had leaped down and were fighting in front of the king. Abreas, the man entitled to double pay, fell there, being shot with an arrow

in the forehead. Alexander himself also was wounded with an arrow under the breast through his breastplate in the chest, so that Ptolemy says air was breathed out from the wound together with the blood. But although he was faint with exhaustion, he defended himself, as long as his blood was still warm. But the blood streaming out copiously and without ceasing at every expiration of breath, he was seized with a dizziness and swooning, and bending over fell upon his shield. After he had fallen Peucestas defended him, holding over him in front the sacred shield brought from Troy; and on the other side he was defended by Leonnatus. But both these men were themselves wounded, and Alexander was now nearly fainting away from loss of blood. As for the Macedonians they had experienced great difficulty in the assault also on this account, because those who saw Alexander being shot at upon the wall and then leaping down into the citadel within, in their ardour arising from fear lest their king should meet with any mishap by recklessly exposing himself to danger, broke the ladders. Then some began to devise one plan, and others another, to mount upon the wall, as well as they could in their state of embarrassment; some fixing pegs into the wall, which was made of earth, and suspending themselves from these hoisted themselves up with difficulty by their means; others got up by mounting one upon the other. The first man who got up threw himself down from the wall into the city, and so did they all, with a loud lamentation and howl of grief, when they saw the king lying on the ground. Now ensued a desperate conflict around his fallen body, one Macedonian after another holding his shield in front of him. In the meantime some of the soldiers having shattered in pieces the bar by which the gate in the space of wall between the towers was secured, entered the city, a few at a time; while others, putting their shoulders under the gap by the gate, forced their way into the space inside the wall, and thus laid the citadel open in that quarter.

## CHAPTER XI

### Alexander Wounded.

Hereupon some of them began to kill the Indians, all of whom they slew, sparing not even a woman or child. Others carried off the king, who was lying in a faint condition, upon

his shield; and they could not yet tell whether he was likely to survive. Some authors have stated that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, an Asclepiad by birth, made an incision into the injured part and drew the weapon out of the wound. Other authors say that as there was no physician present at the critical moment, Perdiccas, the confidential body-guard, at Alexander's bidding, made an incision with his sword into the wounded part and removed the weapon. On its removal there was such a copious effusion of blood that Alexander swooned again; and the effect of the swoon was, that the effusion of blood was stanchd. Many other things concerning this catastrophe have been recorded by the historians; and Rumour, having received the statements as they were given by the first falsifiers of the facts, still preserves them even to our times, nor will she desist from handing the falsehoods on to others also in regular succession, unless a stop is put to it by this history. For example, the common account is, that this calamity befell Alexander among the Oxydracians; whereas, it really occurred among the Mallians, an independent tribe of Indians; the city belonged to the Mallians, and the men who wounded him were Mallians. These people, indeed, had resolved to join their forces with the Oxydracians and then to make a desperate struggle; but he forestalled them by marching against them through the waterless country, before any aid could reach them from the Oxydracians, or they could render any help to the latter. Moreover, the common account is that the last battle fought with Darius was near Arbela, at which battle he fled and did not desist from flight until he was arrested by Bessus and put to death at Alexander's approach; just as the battle before this was at Issus, and the first cavalry battle near the Granicus. The cavalry battle did really take place near the Granicus, and the next battle with Darius at Issus. But as regards Arbela some say that it is 600 stades away from the place where Alexander and Darius fought their last battle, while those who make it least distant, say that it is 500 stades off. But Ptolemy and Aristobulus say that the battle was fought at Gaugamela near the river Bumodus. As Gaugamela was not a city, but only a large village, the place is not celebrated, nor is the name pleasing to the ear; hence it seems to me, that Arbela, being a city, has carried off the glory of the great battle. But if it is necessary to consider that that engagement took place near Arbela, being in reality so far distant from it, then it is allowable to say that the

sea-battle fought at Salamis occurred near the isthmus of the Corinthians, and that fought at Artemisium, in Euboea, occurred near Aegina or Sunium. Moreover, in regard to those who covered Alexander with their shields in his peril, all agree that Peucestas did so; but they no longer agree in regard to Leonnatus or Abreas, the soldier in receipt of double pay for his distinguished services. Some say that Alexander, having received a blow on the head with a piece of wood, fell down in a fit of dizziness; and that having risen again he was wounded with a dart through the corselet in the chest. But Ptolemy, son of Lagus, says that he received only this wound in the chest. However, in my opinion, the greatest error made by those who have written the history of Alexander is the following. There are some who have recorded that Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in company with Peucestas, mounted the ladder with Alexander; that Ptolemy held his shield over him when he lay wounded, and that he was called Soter (the preserver) on that account. And yet Ptolemy himself has recorded that he was not even present at this engagement, but was fighting battles against other barbarians at the head of another army. Let me mention these facts as a digression from the main narrative, so that the correct account of such great deeds and great calamities may not be a matter of indifference to men of the future.

## CHAPTER XII

### Anxiety of the Soldiers about Alexander.

While Alexander was remaining in this place until his wound was cured, the first news which reached the camp from which he had set out to attack the Mallians was that he had died of the wound; and at first there arose a sound of lamentation from the entire army, as one man handed the rumour on to another. When they ceased their lamentation, they became spiritless, and felt perplexed as to the man who was to become the leader of the army; for many of the officers seemed to stand in equal rank and merit, both in the opinion of Alexander and in that of the Macedonians. They were also in a state of perplexity how to get back in safety to their own country, being quite enclosed by so many warlike nations, some of whom had not yet submitted, and who, they conjectured, would fight stoutly for their freedom; while others

would no doubt revolt as soon as they were relieved of their fear of Alexander. Besides, they seemed then at any rate to be in the midst of impassable rivers, and all things appeared to them uncertain and impracticable now that they were bereft of Alexander. But when at length the news came that he was still alive, they with difficulty acquiesced in it; and did not yet believe that he was even likely to survive. Even when a letter came from the king, saying that he was coming down to the camp in a short time, this did not appear to most of them worthy of credit, on account of their excessive fear; for they conjectured that the letter was concocted by his confidential body-guards and generals.

### CHAPTER XIII

#### Joy of the Soldiers at Alexander's Recovery.

When Alexander became acquainted with this, for fear some attempt at a revolution might be made in the army, he had himself conveyed, as soon as it could be done with safety, to the bank of the river Hydraotes, and placed in a boat to sail down the river. For the camp was at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines, where Hephaestion was at the head of the army, and Nearchus of the fleet. When the ship bearing the king approached the camp, he ordered the tent covering to be removed from the stern, that he might be visible to all. But they were still incredulous, thinking, forsooth, that Alexander's corpse was being conveyed on the vessel; until at length he stretched out his hand to the multitude, when the ship was nearing the bank. Then the men raised a cheer, lifting their hands, some towards the sky and others to the king himself. Many even shed involuntary tears at the unexpected sight. Some of the shield-bearing guards brought a litter for him when he was conveyed out of the ship; but he ordered them to fetch his horse. When he was seen again mounting his horse, the whole army re-echoed with loud clapping of hands, so that the banks of the river and the groves near them reverberated with the sound. On approaching his tent he dismounted from his horse, so that he might be seen walking. Then the men came near, some on one side, others on the other, some touching his hands, others his knees, others only his clothes. Some only came close to get a sight of him, and went away having

chanted his praise, while others threw garlands upon him, or the flowers which the country of India supplied at that season of the year. Nearchus says that some of his friends incurred his displeasure, reproaching him for exposing himself to danger in the front of the army in battle; which, they said, was the duty of a private soldier, and not that of the general. It seems to me that Alexander was offended at these remarks, because he knew that they were correct, and that he deserved the censure. However, like those who are mastered by any other pleasure, he had not sufficient self-control to keep aloof from danger, through his impetuosity in battle and his passion for glory. Nearchus also says that a certain old Boeotian, whose name he does not mention, perceiving that Alexander was offended at the censures of his friends and was looking sullenly at them, came near him, and speaking in the Boeotian dialect, said: "O Alexander, it is the part of heroes to perform great deeds!", and repeated a certain Iambic verse, the purport of which is, that the man who performs anything great is destined also to suffer. This man was not only acceptable to Alexander at the time, but was afterwards received into his more intimate acquaintance.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Voyage down the Hydraotes and Acesines into the Indus.

At this time arrived envoys from the Mallians who still survived, offering the submission of the nation; also from the Oxydracians came both the leaders of the cities and the governors of the provinces, accompanied by other 150 most notable men, with full powers to make a treaty, bringing the gift which are considered most valuable among the Indians, and also, like the Mallians, offering the submission of their nation. They said that their error in not having sent an embassy to him before was pardonable, because they excelled other races in the desire to be free and independent, and their freedom had been secure from the time Dionysus came into India until Alexander came; but if it seemed good to him, inasmuch as there was a general report that he also was sprung from gods, they were willing to receive whatever viceroy he might appoint, pay the tribute decreed by him,



and give him as many hostages as he might demand. He therefore demanded the thousand best men of the nation, whom he might hold as hostages, if he pleased; and if not, that he might keep them as soldiers in his army, until he had finished the war which he was waging against the other Indians. They accordingly selected the thousand best and tallest men of their number, and sent them to him, together with 500 chariots and their charioteers, though these were not demanded. Alexander appointed Philip viceroy over these people and the Mallian who were still surviving. He sent back the hostages to them, but retained the chariots. When he had satisfactorily arranged these matters, since many vessels had been built during the delay arising from his being wounded, he embarked 1,700 of the cavalry companions, as many of the light-armed troops as before, and 10,000 infantry, and sailed a short distance down the river Hydraotes. But when that river mingled its waters with the Acesines, the latter giving its name to the united stream, he continued his voyage down the Acesines, until he reached its junction with the Indus. For these four large rivers, which are all navigable, discharge their water into the river Indus, though each does not retain its distinct name, for the Hydaspes discharges itself into the Acesines, and after the junction the whole stream forms what is called the Acesines. Again this same river unites with the Hydraotes, and after absorbing this river, still retains its own name. After this the Acesines takes in the Hyphasis, and finally flows into the Indus under its own name; but after the junction it yields its name to the Indus. From this point I have no doubt that the Indus proceeds 100 stades, and perhaps more, before it is divided so as to form the Delta; and there it spreads out more like a lake than a river.

## CHAPTER XV

### Voyage down the Indus to the Land of Musicanus.

There, at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus, he waited until Perdicas with the army arrived, after having routed on his way the independent tribe of the Abastanians. Meantime, he was joined by other thirty-oared galleys and trading vessels, which had been built for him among the Xathrians, another independent tribe of the Indians who had yielded to him. From the Ossadians, who

were also an independent tribe of Indians, came envoys to offer the submission of their nation. Having fixed the confluence of the Acesines and Indus as the limit of Philip's viceroyalty, he left with him all the Thracians and as many men from the infantry regiments as appeared to him sufficient to provide for the security of the country. He then ordered a city to be founded there at the very junction of the two rivers, expecting that it would become large and famous among men. He also ordered a dockyard to be made there. At this time the Bactrian Oxyartes, father of his wife Roxana, came to him, to whom he gave the viceroyalty over the Parapamisadians, after dismissing the former viceroy, Tiryaspes, because he was reported to be exercising his authority improperly. Then he transported Craterus with the main body of the army and the elephants to the left bank of the river Indus, both because it seemed easier for a heavy-armed force to march along that side of the river, and the tribes dwelling near were not quite friendly. He himself sailed down to the capital of the Sogdians; where he fortified another city, made another dockyard, and repaired his shattered vessels. He appointed Peithon viceroy of the land extending from the confluence of the Indus and Acesines as far as the sea, together with all the coast-land of India. He then again despatched Craterus with his army through the country; and himself sailed down the river into the dominion of Musicanus, which was reported to be the most prosperous part of India. He advanced against this king because he had not yet come to meet him to offer the submission of himself and his land, nor had he sent envoys to seek his alliance. He had not even sent him the gifts which were suitable for a great king, or asked any favour from him. He accelerated his voyage down the river to such a degree that he succeeded in reaching the confines of the land of Musicanus before he had even heard that Alexander had started against him. Musicanus was so greatly alarmed that he went as fast as he could to meet him, bringing with him the gifts valued most highly among the Indians, and taking all his elephants. He offered to surrender both his nation and himself, at the same time acknowledging his error, which was the most effectual way with Alexander for any one to get what he requested. Accordingly, for these considerations, Alexander granted him an indemnity, admired his capital and his realm, and confirmed him in his sovereignty. Craterus was directed to fortify the citadel in the capital; which was done while Alexander was

still present. A garrison was also placed in it, because he thought the place suitable for keeping the circumjacent tribes in subjection.

## CHAPTER XVI

### Campaign against Oxycanus and Sambus.

Then he took the archers, Agrianians, and cavalry sailing with him, and marched against the governor of a district in that part of the country, whose name was Oxycanus, because he neither came himself nor did envoys come from him, to offer the surrender of himself and his land. At the very first assault he took by storm the two largest cities under the rule of Oxycanus; in the second of which that prince himself was captured. The booty he gave to his army, but the elephants he led with himself. The other cities in the same land surrendered to him as he advanced, nor did any one turn to resist him; so cowed in spirit had all the Indians now become at the thought of Alexander and his fortune. He then marched back against Sambus, whom he had appointed viceroy of the mountaineer Indians and who was reported to have fled, because he learned that Musicanus had been pardoned by Alexander and was ruling over his own land. For he was at war with Musicanus. But when Alexander approached the city called Sindimana, which formed the metropolis of the country of Sambus, the gates were thrown open on his arrival and the relations of Sambus reckoned up his money and went out to meet him, taking with them the elephants also. They assured him that Sambus had fled, not from any hostile feeling towards Alexander, but fearing on account of the pardon of Musicanus. He also captured another city which had revolted at this time, and slew as many of the Brachmans (Brahmans) as had been instigators of this revolt. These men are the Philosophers of the Indians, of whose philosophy, if such it may be called, I shall give an account in my book descriptive of India.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Musicanus Executed.—Capture of Patala.

Meantime he was informed that Musicanus had revolted. He

despatched the viceroy, Peithon, son of Agenor, with a sufficient army against him, while he himself marched against the cities which had been put under the rule of Musicanus. Some of these he razed to the ground, reducing the inhabitants to slavery; and into others he introduced garrisons and fortified the citadels. After accomplishing this, he returned to the camp and fleet. By this time Musicanus had been captured by Peithon, who was bringing him to Alexander. The king ordered him to be hanged in his own country, and with him as many of the Brachmans as had instigated him to the revolt. Then came to him the ruler of the land of the Patalians, who said that the Delta formed by the river Indus was still larger than the Egyptian Delta. This man surrendered to him the whole of his own land and entrusted both himself and his property to him. Alexander sent him away again in possession of his own dominions, with instructions to provide whatever was needful for the reception of the army. He then sent Craterus into Carmania with the brigades of Attalus, Meleager, and Antigenes, some of the archers, and as many of the companions and other Macedonians as, being now unfit for military service, he was despatching to Macedonia by the route through the lands of the Arachotians and Zarangians. To Craterus he also gave the duty of leading the elephants. But the rest of the army, except the part of it which was sailing with himself down to the sea, he put under the command of Hephaestion. He transported Peithon with the horse-javelin-men and Agrianians to the opposite bank of the Indus, not the one along which Hephaestion was about to lead the army. Peithon was ordered to collect men to colonize the cities which had just been fortified, and to form a junction with the king at Patala, after having settled the affairs of the Indians of that region, if they attempted any revolutionary proceedings. On the third day of his voyage, Alexander was informed that the governor of the Patalians had collected most of his subjects and was going away by stealth, having left his land deserted. For this reason Alexander sailed down the river with greater speed than before; and when he arrived at Patala, he found both the country and the city deserted by the inhabitants and tillers of the soil. He however despatched the lightest troops in his army in pursuit of the fugitives; and when some of them were captured, he sent them away to the rest, bidding them to be of good courage and return, for they might inhabit the city and till the country as before. Most of them accordingly returned.

## CHAPTER XVIII

## Voyage down the Indus.

After instructing Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Patala, he sent men into the adjacent country, which was waterless, to dig wells and to render the land fit for habitation. Certain of the native barbarians attacked these men, and falling upon them unawares slew some of them; but having lost many of their own men, they fled into the desert. The work was therefore accomplished by those who had been sent out, another army having joined them, which Alexander had despatched to take part in the work, when he heard of the attack of the barbarians.

Near Patala the water of the Indus is divided into two large rivers, both of which retain the name of Indus as far as the sea. Here Alexander constructed a harbour and dockyard; and when his works had advanced towards completion he resolved to sail down as far as the mouth of the right branch of the river. He gave Leonnatus the command of 1,000 cavalry and 8,000 heavy and light-armed infantry, and sent him to march through the island of Patala along the shore in a line with the naval squadron; while he himself took the fastest sailing vessels, both those having one and half bank of oars, and all the thirty-oared galleys, with some of the boats, and began to sail down the right branch of the river. The Indians of that region had fled, and consequently he could get no pilot for the voyage, and the voyage down the river was more difficult. On the day after the start a storm arose, and the wind blowing right against the stream made the river hollow and shattered the hulls of the vessels violently, so that most of his ships were injured, and some of the thirty-oared galleys were entirely broken up. But they succeeded in running them aground before they quite fell to pieces in the water; and others were therefore constructed. He then sent the quickest of the light-armed troops into the land beyond the river's bank and captured some Indians, who from this time piloted him down the channel. But when they arrived at the place where the river expands, so that where it was widest it extended 200 stades, a strong wind blew from the outer sea, and the oars could hardly be raised in the swell; they therefore took refuge again in a canal into which his pilots conducted them.

## CHAPTER XIX

## Voyage down the Indus into the Sea.

While their vessels were moored here, the phenomenon of the ebb of the tide in the great sea occurred, so that their ships were left upon dry ground. This even in itself caused Alexander and his companions no small alarm, inasmuch as they were previously quite unacquainted with it. But they were much more alarmed when, the time coming round again, the water approached and the hulls of vessels were raised aloft without any damage, and floated again without receiving any injury; but those that had been left on the drier land and had not a firm settlement, when an immense compact wave advanced, either fell foul of each other or were dashed against the land and thus shattered to pieces. When Alexander had repaired these vessels as well as his circumstances permitted, he sent some men on in advance down the river in two boats to explore the island at which the natives said he must moor his vessels in his voyage to the sea. They told him that the name of the island was Cilluta. As he was informed that there were harbours in this island, that it was a large one and had water in it, he made the rest of his fleet put in there; but he himself with the best sailing ships advanced beyond, to see if the mouth of the river afforded an easy voyage out into the open sea. After advancing about 200 stades from the first island, they descried another which was quite out in the sea. Then indeed they returned to the island in the river; and having moored his vessels near the extremity of it, Alexander offered sacrifice to those gods to which he said he had been directed by Ammon to sacrifice. On the following day he sailed down to the other island which was in the deep sea; and having come to shore here also, he offered other sacrifices to other gods and in another manner. These sacrifices he also offered according to the oracular instructions of Ammon. Then having gone beyond the mouths of the river Indus, he sailed out into the open sea, as he said, to discover if any land lay anywhere near in the sea; but in my opinion, chiefly that he might be able to say that he had navigated the great outer sea of India. There he sacrificed some bulls to Poseidon and cast them into the sea; and having poured out a libation after the sacrifice, he threw the goblet and bowls, which were golden, into the deeps as thank-offerings, praying the god to escort safely for him the fleet, which

he intended to despatch with Nearchus to the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

## CHAPTER XX

### Exploration of the Mouths of the Indus.

Returning to Patala, he found that the citadel had been fortified and that Peithon had arrived with his army, having accomplished everything for which he was despatched. He ordered Hephaestion to prepare what was needful for the fortification of a naval station and the construction of dock-yards, for he resolved to leave behind him a fleet of many ships near the city of Patala, where the river Indus divides itself into two streams. He himself sailed down again into the Great Sea by the other mouth of the Indus, to ascertain which branch of the river is easier to navigate. The mouths of the river Indus are about 1,800 stades distant from each other. In the voyage down he arrived at a large lake in the mouth of the river, which the river makes by spreading itself out; or perhaps the waters of the surrounding district draining into it make it large, so that it very much resembles a gulf of the sea. For in it were seen fish from the sea, of larger size than those in our sea. Having moored his ships then in the lake, where the pilots directed, he left there most of the soldiers and all the boats with Leonnatus; but he himself with the thirty-oared galleys and the vessels with one and a half row of oars passed beyond the mouth of the Indus and advancing into the sea also this way, ascertained that the outlet of the river on this side (i.e., the east) was easier to navigate than the other. He moored his ships near the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went along the sea-coast three days' journey, exploring what kind of country it was for a coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that the sailors might have water to drink. He then returned to the ships and sailed back to Patala; but he sent a part of his army along the sea-coast to effect the same thing, instructing them to return to Patala when they had dug the wells. Sailing again down to the lake, he there constructed another harbour and dockyard; and leaving a garrison for the place, he collected sufficient food to supply the army for four months, as well as whatever else he could procure for the coasting voyage.

## CHAPTER XXI

Alexander crosses the river Arabius and  
invades the Oreitai.

The season of the year was impracticable for navigation from the prevalence of the Etesian winds, which do not blow there as with us from the north, but come as a south wind from the Great Ocean. It was ascertained that from the beginning of the winter, that is from the setting of the Pleiades, till the winter solstice, the weather was suitable for making voyages, because the mild breezes which then blow steadily seaward from the land, which is drenched by this time with heavy rains, favour coasting voyages, whether made by oar or by sail. Nearchus, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet, was waiting for the season for coasting, but Alexander set out from Patala, and advanced with the whole of his army to the river Arabius. He then took half of the hypaspists and archers, the infantry brigades called foot companions, the corps of companion cavalry, and a squadron from each division of the other cavalry, and all the horse archers, and turned towards the sea, which lay on the left, not only to dig as many wells as possible for the use of the expedition while coasting those shores, but also to fall suddenly upon the Oreitai (an Indian tribe in those parts which had long been independent), because they had rendered no friendly service either to himself or the army. The command of the troops which he did not take with him was entrusted to Hephaistion. There was settled near the river Arabius another independent tribe called the Arabitai, and, as these neither thought themselves a match for Alexander, nor yet wished to submit to him, they fled into the desert when they learned that he was marching against them. But Alexander having crossed the Arabius, which was neither broad nor deep, traversed the most of the desert, and found himself by daybreak near the inhabited country. Then leaving orders with the infantry to follow him in regular line, he set forward with the cavalry, which he divided into squadrons, to be spread over a wide extent of the plain, and it was thus he marched into the country of the Oreitai. All who turned to offer resistance were cut down by the cavalry, but many were taken prisoners. He then encamped near a small sheet of water, and on being joined by the troops under Hephaistion still continued his progress, and



arrived at the village called Rambakia, which was the largest in the dominions of the Oreitai. He was pleased with the situation, and thought that if he colonised it, it would become a great and prosperous city. He therefore left Hephaistion behind him to carry this scheme into effect.

## CHAPTER XXII

### Submission of the Oreitai—Description of the Gedrosian desert.

He then took again the half of the hypaspists and Agrianians, and the corps of cavalry and the horse-archers, and marched forward to the frontiers of the Gadrosoi and the Oreitai, where he was informed his way would lie through a narrow defile before which the combined forces of the Oreitai and the Gadrosoi were lying encamped, resolved to prevent his passage. They were in fact drawn up there, but when they were apprised of Alexander's approach most of them deserted the posts they were guarding and fled from the pass. Then the leaders of the Oreitai came to him to surrender themselves and their nation. He ordered them to collect the multitude of the Oreitai and send them away to their homes, since they were not to be subjected to any bad treatment. Over these people he placed Apollophanes as satrap. Along with him he left Leonnatus, an officer of the bodyguard in Ora, in command of all the Agrianians, some of the archers and cavalry, and the rest of the Grecian mercenary infantry and cavalry, and instructed him to remain in the country till the fleet sailed past his shores, to settle a colony in the city, and establish order among the Oreitai, so that they might be readier to pay respect and obedience to the satrap. He himself with the great bulk of the army (for Hephaistion had now rejoined him with his detachment) advanced to the country of the Gadrosoi by a route mostly desert.

Aristobulus says that myrrh-trees larger than the common kind grow plentifully in this desert, and that the Phoenicians who followed the army as sutlers collected the drops of myrrh which oozed out in great abundance from the trees (their stems being large and hitherto uncropped), and conveyed away the produce loaded on their beasts of burden. He says also that this desert

yields an abundance of odoriferous roots of nard, which the Phoenicians likewise collected; but much of it was trodden down by the army, and the sweet perfume thus crushed out of it was from its great abundance diffused far and wide over the country. Other kinds of trees are found in the desert, one in particular which had a foliage like that of laurel, and grew in places washed by the waves of the sea. These trees, when the tide ebbed, were left in dry ground, but when it returned they looked as if they grew in the sea. The roots of some were always washed by the sea, since they grew in hollows from which the water never receded, and yet trees of this kind were not destroyed by the brine. Some of these trees attained here the giant height of 30 cubits. They happened to be at that season in bloom, and their flower closely resembled the white violet, which, however, it far surpassed in the sweetness of its perfume. Another kind of thorny stalk is mentioned, which grew on dry land, and was armed with a thorn so strong that when it got entangled in the dress of some who were riding past, it rather pulled the rider down from his horse than was itself torn away from its stalk. When hares are running past these bushes the thorns are said to fasten themselves in the fur so that the hares are caught like birds with bird-lime or fish with hooks. These thorns were, however, easily cut through with steel, and when severed the stalk yielded juice even more abundant and more acid than what flows from fig-trees in spring-time.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### Alexander marching though Gedrosia endeavours to collect supplies for the fleet.

Thence he marched through the country of the Gedrosi by a difficult route, on which it was scarcely possible to procure the necessities of life, and which often failed to yield water for the army. They were besides compelled to march most of the way by night, and at too great a distance from the sea; for Alexander wished to go along the sea-coast, both to see what harbours it had, and to make in the course of his march whatever preparations were possible for the benefit of the fleet, either by making his men dig wells or seek out markets and anchorages. The maritime parts of Gedrosia were, however, entirely desert.

Nevertheless he sent Thoas, the son of Mandradorus, down to the sea with a few horsemen to see if there happened to be any anchorage or water not far from the sea, or anything else that could supply the wants of the fleet. This man on returning reported that he found some fishermen upon the beach living in stifling huts, which had been constructed by heaping up mussel shells, while the roofs were formed of backbones of fish. He also reported that these fishermen had only scanty supplies of water, obtained with difficulty by their digging through the shingle, and that what they got was far from sweet.

When Alexander came to a district of the Gedrosian country where corn was more abundant, he seized it, placed it upon the beasts of burden, and having marked it with his own seal ordered it to be conveyed to the sea. But when he was coming to the halting station nearest the sea, the soldiers paid but little regard to the seal, and even the guards themselves made use of the corn and gave a share of it to such as were most pinched with hunger. Indeed, they were so overcome by their sufferings, that as reason dictated, they took more account of the impending danger with which they now stood face to face than of the unseen and remote danger of the king's resentment. Alexander, however, forgave the offenders when made aware of the necessity which had prompted their act. He himself scoured the country in search of provisions, and sent Cretheus the Callatian with all the supplies he could collect for the use of the army which was sailing round with the fleet. He also ordered the natives to grind all the corn they could collect in the interior districts, and convey it, for sale to the army, along with dates and sheep. He besides sent Telephos, one of the companions, to another locality with a small supply of ground corn.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### Difficulties encountered on the march through Gedrosia.

He then advanced towards the capital of the Gadrosi, called Poura, and arrived there in sixty days after he had started from Ora. Most of Alexander's historians admit that all the hardships which his army suffered in Asia are not to be compared with the miseries which it here experienced. Nearchus is the only author who says that Alexander did not take that route in ignorance

of its difficulty, but that he chose it on learning that no one had as yet traversed it with an army except Semiramis when she fled from India. The natives of the country say that she escaped with only twenty men of all her army, while even Cyrus, the son of Cambyzes, escaped with only seven. For Cyrus, they say, did in truth enter this region to invade India, but lost, before reaching it, the greater part of his army from the difficulties which beset his march through the desert. When Alexander heard these accounts he was seized, it is said, with an ambition to outrival both Cyrus and Semiramis. Nearchus says that this motive, added to his desire to be near the coast in order to keep the fleet supplied with provisions, induced him to march by this route; but that the blazing heat and want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially the beasts of burden, which perished from the great depth of the sand, and the heat which scorched like fire, while a great many died of thirst. For they met, he says, with lofty ridges of deep sand not hard and compact, but so loose that those who stepped on it sunk down as into mud or rather into untrodden snow. The horses and mules besides suffered still more severely both in ascending and descending the ridges, because the road was not only uneven, but wanted firmness. The great distances also between the stages were most distressing to the army, compelled as it was at times from want of water to make marches above the ordinary length. When they traversed by night all the stage they had to complete and came to water in the morning, their distress was all but entirely relieved. But if as the day advanced they were caught still marching owing to the great length of the stage, then suffer they did, tortured alike by raging heat and thirst unquenchable.

## CHAPTER XXV

### Sufferings of the Army in the Gedrosian desert.

The soldiers destroyed many of the beasts of burden of their own accord. For when their provisions ran short they came together and killed most of the horses and mules. They ate the flesh of these animals, which they professed had died of thirst and perished from the heat. No one cared to look very narrowly into the exact nature of what was doing, both because of the

prevailing distress and also because all were alike implicated in the same offence. Alexander himself was not unaware of what was going on, but he saw that the remedy for the existing state of things was to pretend ignorance of it rather than permit it as a matter that lay within his cognisance. It was therefore no longer easy to convey the soldiers labouring under sickness, nor others who had fallen behind on the march from exhaustion. This arose not only from the want of beasts of burden, but also because the men themselves took to destroying the waggons when they could no longer drag them forward owing to the deepness of the sand. They had done this even in the early stages of the march, because for the sake of the waggons they had to go not by the shortest roads, but those easiest for carriages. Thus some were left behind on the road from sickness, others from fatigue or the effect of the heat or intolerable thirst, while there were none who could take them forward or remain to tend them in their sickness. For the army marched on apace, and in the anxiety for its safety as a whole the care of individuals was of necessity disregarded. As they generally made their marches by night, some of the men were overcome by sleep on the way, but on awaking afterwards those who still had some strength left followed close on the track of the army, and a few out of many saved their lives by overtaking it. The majority perished in the sand like shipwrecked men at sea.

Another disaster also befell the army which seriously affected the men themselves as well as the horses and the beasts of burden. For the country of the Gedrosians, like that of the Indians, is supplied with rains by the Etesian winds; but these rains do not fall on the Gedrosian plains, but on the mountains to which the clouds are carried by the wind, where they dissolve in rain without passing over the crests of the mountains. When the army on one occasion lay encamped for the night near a small winter torrent for the sake of its water, the torrent which passes that way about the second watch of the night became swollen by rains which had fallen unperceived by the army, and came rushing down with so great a deluge that it destroyed most of the women and children of the camp-followers and swept away all the royal baggage and whatever beasts of burden were still left. The soldiers themselves, after a hard struggle, barely escaped with their lives, and a portion only of their weapons. Many of them besides came by their death through drinking, for if when jaded

by the broiling heat and thirst they fell in with abundance of water, they quaffed it with insatiable avidity till they killed themselves. For this reason Alexander generally pitched his camp not in the immediate vicinity of the watering-places, but some twenty stadia off to prevent the men and beasts from rushing in crowds into the water to the danger of their lives, as well as to prohibit those who had no self-control from polluting the water for the rest of the troops by their stepping into the springs or streams.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### Incidents of the march through Gedrosia.

Here I feel myself bound not to pass over in silence a noble act performed by Alexander, perhaps the noblest in his record, which occurred either in this country or, as some other authors have asserted, still earlier, among the Parapamisadai. The story is this. The army was prosecuting its march through the sand under a sun already blazing high because a halt could not be made till water, which lay on the way farther on was reached, and Alexander himself, though distressed with thirst, was nevertheless with pain and difficulty marching on foot at the head of his army, that the soldiers might, as they usually do in a case of the kind, more cheerfully bear their hardships when they saw the misery equalised. But in the meantime some of the light-armed soldiers, starting off from the army, found water collected in the shallow bed of a torrent in a small and impure spring. Having, with difficulty, collected this water they hastened off to Alexander as if they were the bearers of some great boon. As soon as they came near the king they poured the water into a helmet and offered it to him. He took it and thanked the men who brought it, but at once poured it upon the ground in the sight of all. By this deed the whole army was inspired with fresh vigour to such a degree that one would have imagined that the water poured out by Alexander had supplied a draught to the men all round. This deed I commend above all others, as it exhibits Alexander's power of endurance as well as his wonderful tact in the management of an army.

The army met also with the following adventure in this country. The guides, becoming uncertain of the way, at last declared

that they could no longer recognise it, because all its tracks had been obliterated by the sands which the wind blew over them. Amid the deep sands, moreover, which had been everywhere heaped up to a uniform level, nothing rose up from which they could conjecture their path, not even the usual fringe of trees, nor so much as the sure landmark of a hill-crest. Nor had they practised the art of finding their way by observation of the stars by night or of the sun by day, as sailors do by watching one or other of the Bears—the Phoenicians the Lesser Bear, and all other nations the Greater. Alexander, at last perceiving that he should direct his march to the left, rode away forward, taking a small part of horsemen with him. But when their horses were tired out by the heat, he left most of his escort behind, and rode on with only five men and found the sea. Having scraped away the shingle on the beach, he found water, both fresh and pure, and then went back and brought his whole army to this place. And for seven days they marched along the sea-coast, and procured water from the beach. As the guides by this time knew the way, he led his expedition thence into the interior parts.

## CHAPTER XXVII

Appointment of satraps—Alexander learns that the  
satrap Philippos had been murdered in India—  
Punishes satraps who had misgoverned.

When he arrived at the capital of the Gedrosians he gave his army a rest. Apollophanes he deposed from his satrapy because he found out that he had utterly disregarded his instructions. He appointed Thoas to be satrap over the people of this district, but, as he took ill and died, Siburtios received the vacant office. The same man had also recently been appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania, but now the government of the Arachotians and Gedrosians was committed to him and Tlepolemos, the son of Pythophanes, got Carmania. The king was already advancing into Carmania when tidings reached him that Philippos, the satrap of the Indian country, had been plotted against by the mercenaries and treacherously murdered; but that the Macedonian body-guards of Philippos had put to death his murderers whom they had caught in the very act, and others

whom they had afterwards seized. On learning what had occurred he sent a letter to India addressed to Eudemus and Taxiles directing them to assume the administration of the province previously governed by Philippos until he could send a satrap to govern it.

When he arrived in Carmania Craterus joined him, bringing the rest of the army and the elephants. He brought also Ordanes, whom he had made prisoner for revolting and attempting to make a revolution. Thither came also Stasanor, the satrap of the Areians and Zarangians, accompanied by Pharismanes, the son of Phrataphernes, the satrap of the Parthians and Hyrcanians. There came besides the generals who had been left with Parmenion over the army in Media, Cleander and Sitalkes and Herakon, who brought with them the greater part of their army. Against Cleander and Sitalkes both the natives and the soldiers themselves brought many accusations, as that they had pillaged temples, despoiled ancient tombs, and perpetrated other outrageous acts of injustice and tyranny against their subjects. When these charges were proved against them, he put them to death, to make others who might be left as satraps, or governors, or chiefs of districts, stand in fear of suffering a like punishment if they violated their duty. This was the means which above all others served to keep in due order and obedience the nations which Alexander had conquered in war or which had voluntarily submitted to him, numerous as they were, and so far remote from each other, because under his sceptre the ruled were not allowed to be unjustly treated by their rulers. Herakon on this occasion was acquitted of the charge, but was soon afterwards punished, because he was convicted by the men of Susa of having plundered the temple of their city. Stasanor and Phrataphernes in setting out to join Alexander, took with them a multitude of beasts of burden and many camels, because they learned that he was taking the route through the Gedrosians, and conjectured that his army would suffer, as it actually did. These men arrived therefore very opportunely, as did also their camels and their beasts of burden. For Alexander distributed all these animals to the officers one by one, to the squadrons and centuries of the cavalry, and to the companies of the infantry as far as their number sufficed.



## CHAPTER XXVIII

Alexander holds rejoicings in Carmania on account of his Indian victories—List of his body-guards—Nearchus reports to him the safety of the fleet.

Some authors have recorded, though I cannot believe what they state, that he made his progress through Carmania stretched at length with his companions on two covered waggons joined together, enjoying the while the music of the flute, and followed by the soldiers crowned with garlands and making holiday. They say also that food and all kinds of good cheer were provided for them along the roads by the Carmanians, and that these things were done by Alexander in imitation of the Bacchic revelry of Dionysus, because it was said of that deity that, after conquering the Indians, he traversed, in this manner, a great part of Asia, and received the name of Thriambus in addition to that of Dionysus, and that for this very reason the splendid processions in honour of victories in war were called *Thriamboi*. But neither Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, nor Aristobulus has mentioned these doings in their narratives, nor any other writer whose testimony on such subjects it would be safe to trust, and as for myself I have done enough in recording them as unworthy of belief. But in the account I now proceed to offer I follow Aristobulus. In Carmania Alexander offered sacrifice in thanksgiving to the gods for his victory over the Indians, and the preservation of his army during its march through Gedrosia. He celebrated also a musical and a gymnastic contest. He then appointed Peukestas to be one of his body-guards, having already resolved to make him the satrap of Persis. He wished him, before his promotion to the satrapy, to experience this honour and mark of confidence for the service he rendered among the Mallians. Up to this time the number of his body-guards was seven—Leonnatus, the son of Anteus; Hephastion, the son of Amyntor; Lysimachus, the son of Agathokles; Aristonus, the son of Peisaius, who were all Pelaians; Perdiccas, the son of Orontes from Orestis; Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Peithon, the son of Crateuas, who were both Heordaians—Peukestas, who had held the shield over Alexander, was added to them as an eighth.

At this time Nearchus, having sailed round the coast of Ora

and Gedrosia, and that of the Ichthyophagi,\* put into port in the inhabited parts of the Carmanian coast, and going up thence into the interior with a few followers related to Alexander the incidents of the voyage which he had made for him in the outer sea. He was sent down again to sea, to sail round to the land of the Susians and the outlets of the river Tigris. How he sailed from the river Indus to the Persian Sea and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall describe in a separate work, wherein I shall follow Nearchus himself as the history which he composed in the Greek language had Alexander for its subject. Perhaps at some future time I shall produce this work if my own inclination and the deity prompt me to the task.

\* Ichthyophagi means 'fish-eaters'; for a detailed account of this people see p. 94.

## B. STRABO

Strabo, the Greek geographer and historian, was born about 63 B.C. at Amasia in Pontus, a Hellenized city, which was the royal residence of the kings of Pontus in Asia Minor. Nothing is known of his father's family, but of his mother's relatives who held important offices under Mithradates V and VI, some were of Hellenic and others of Asiatic origin. But Strabo himself was thoroughly Greek in language and education. His Geography, which was finally revised between A.D. 17 and 23, is regarded as "the most important work on that science which antiquity has left us". It is divided into seventeen books of which the fifteenth deals with India and Persia. The following extract is based on the English translation by H. L. Jones in the Loeb Classical Library series. Some portions of it were also translated by McCrindle.

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

#### BOOK XV, II

1. After India one comes to Ariana, the first portion of the country subject to the Persians after the Indus River and of the upper satrapies situated outside the Taurus. Ariana is bounded on the south and on the north by the same sea and the same mountains as India, as also by the same river, the Indus, which flows between itself and India; and from this river it extends towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Carmania, so that its shape is quadrilateral. Now the southern side begins at the outlets of the Indus and at Patalene and ends at Carmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where it has a promontory that projects considerably towards the south; and then it takes a bend into the gulf in the direction of Persis. Ariana is inhabited first by the Arbies, whose name is like that of the River Arbis, which forms the boundary between them and the next tribe, the Oreitae; and the Arbies have a seaboard about one thousand stadia in length, as Nearchus says; but this too is a portion of India. Then one comes to the Oreitae, an autonomous tribe. The coasting voyage along the country of this tribe is one thousand eight hundred stadia in length, and the next, along that of the Ichthyophagi, seven thousand four hundred, and that along the country of the Carmanians as far as Persis, three thousand seven hundred, so that the total voyage is twelve thousand nine hundred stadia.

2. The country of the Ichthyophagi is on the sea-level; and most of it is without trees, except palms and a kind of thorn

and the tamarisk; and there is a scarcity both of water and of foods produced by cultivation; and both the people and their cattle use fish for food and drink waters supplied by rains and wells; and the meat of their cattle smells like fish; and they build their dwellings mostly with the bones of whales and with oyster-shells, using the ribs of whales as beams and supports, and the jawbones as doorposts; and they use the vertebral bones of whales as mortars, in which they pound the fish after roasting them in the sun; and then they make bread of this, mixing a small amount of flour with it, for they have grinding-mills, although they have no iron. And this is indeed not so surprising, for they could import grinding-mills from other places; but how do they cut them anew when worn smooth? Why, with the same stones, they say, with which they sharpen arrows and javelins that have been hardened in fire. As for fish, they bake some in covered earthen vessels, but for the most part eat them raw; and they catch them, among other ways, with nets made of palm-bark.

3. Above the country of the Ichthyophagi is situated Gedrosia, a country less torrid than India, but more torrid than the rest of Asia; and since it is in lack of fruits and water, except in summer, it is not much better than the country of the Ichthyophagi. But it produces spices, in particular nard plants and myrrh trees, so that Alexander's army on their march used these for tent-coverings and bedding, at the same time enjoying, thereby sweet odours and a more salubrious atmosphere; and they made their return from India in the summer on purpose, for at that time Gedrosia has rains, and the rivers and the wells are filled, though in winter they fail and the rains fall in the upper regions towards the north and near the mountains; and when the rivers are filled the plains near the sea are watered and the wells are full. And the king sent persons before him into the desert country to dig wells and to prepare stations for himself and his fleet.

4. For he divided his forces into three parts, and himself set out with one division through Gedrosia. He kept away from the sea no more than five hundred stadia at most, in order that he might at the same time equip the seaboard for the reception of his fleet; and he often closely approached the sea, although its shores were hard to traverse and rugged. The second division he sent forward through the interior under the command of Craterus, who at the same time was to subdue Ariana and also

to advance to the same region whither Alexander was directing his march. The fleet he gave over to Nearchus and Onesicritus, the latter his master pilot, giving them orders to take an appropriate position, and to follow, and sail alongside, his line of march.

5. Moreover, Nearchus says that when now the king was completing his journey he himself began the voyage, in the autumn, at the time of the rising of the Pleiad in the west; and that the winds were not yet favourable, and that the barbarians attacked them and tried to drive them out; for, he adds, the barbarians took courage when the king departed and acted like freemen. Craterus set out from the Hydaspes and went through the country of the Arachoti and of the Drangae into Carmania. But Alexander was in great distress throughout the whole journey, since he was marching through a wretched country; and from a distance, likewise, he could procure additional supplies only in small quantities and at rare intervals, so that his army was famished; and the beasts of burden fagged out, and the baggage was left behind on the roads and in the camps; but they were saved by the date palms, eating not only the fruit but also the cabbage at the top. They say that Alexander, although aware of the difficulties, conceived an ambition, in view of the prevailing opinion that Semiramis escaped in flight from India with only about twenty men and Cyrus with seven, to see whether he himself could safely lead that large army of his through the same country and win this victory too.

6. In addition to the resourcelessness of the country, the heat of the sun was grievous, as also the depth and the heat of the sand; and in some places there were sand-hills so high that, in addition to the difficulty of lifting one's legs, as out of a pit, there were also ascents and descents to be made. And it was necessary also, on account of the wells, to make long marches of two hundred or three hundred stadia, and sometimes even six hundred, travelling mostly by night. But they would encamp at a distance from the wells, often at a distance of thirty stadia, in order that the soldiers might not, to satisfy their thirst, drink too much water; for many would plunge into the wells, armour and all, and drink as submerged men would; and then, after expiring, would swell up and float on the surface and corrupt the wells, which were shallow; and others, exhausted by reason of thirst, would lie down in the middle of the road in the open sun, and then trembling, along with a jerking of hands and legs, they

would die like persons seized with chills or ague. And in some cases soldiers would turn aside from the main road and fall asleep, being overcome by sleep and fatigue. And some, falling behind the army, perished by wandering from the roads and by reason of heat and lack of everything, though others arrived safely, but only after suffering many hardships; and a torrential stream, coming on by night, overwhelmed both a large number of persons and numerous articles; and much of the royal equipment was also swept away; and when the guides ignorantly turned aside so far into the interior that the sea was no longer visible, the king, perceiving their error, set out at once to seek for the shore; and when he found it, and by digging discovered potable water, he sent for the army, and thereafter kept close to shore for seven days, with a good supply of water; and then he withdrew again into the interior.

7. There was a kind of plant like the laurel which caused any beast of burden which tasted of it to die with epilepsy, along with foaming at the mouth. And there was a prickly plant, the fruit of which strewn the ground, like cucumbers, and was full of juice; and if drops of this juice struck an eye of any creature, they always blinded it. Further, many were choked by eating unripe dates. And there was also danger from the snakes; for herbs grew on the sand-hills, and beneath these herbs the snakes had crept unnoticed; and they killed every person they struck. It was said that among the Oreitae the arrows, which were made of wood and hardened in fire, were besmeared with deadly poisons; and that Ptolemaeus was wounded and in danger of losing his life; and that when Alexander was asleep someone stood beside him and showed him a root, branch and all, which he bade Alexander to crush and apply to the wound; and that when Alexander awoke from his sleep he remembered the vision, sought for, and found, the root, which grew in abundance; and that he made use of it, both he himself and the others; and that when the barbarians saw that the antidote had been discovered they surrendered to the king. But it is reasonable to suppose that someone who knew of the antidote informed the king, and that the fabulous element was added for the sake of flattery. Having arrived at the royal seat of the Gedrosii on the sixtieth day after leaving the Orae,<sup>1</sup> Alexander gave his multitudinous army only a short rest and then set out for Carmania.

8. Such, then on the southern side of Ariana, is about the

geographical position of the seaboard and of the lands of the Gedrosii and Oreitae, which lands are situated next above the seaboard.<sup>1</sup> It<sup>2</sup> is a large country, and even Gedrosia<sup>3</sup> reaches up into the interior as far as the Drangae, the Arachoti, and the Paropamisadae, concerning whom Eratosthenes has spoken as follows (for I am unable to give any better description). He says that Ariana is bounded on the east by the Indus River, on the south by the great sea, on the north by the Paropamisus mountain and the mountains that follow it as far as the Caspian Gates, and that its parts on the west are marked by the same boundaries by which Parthia is separated from Media and Carmania from Paraetacene and Persis. He says that the breadth of the country is the length of the Indus from the Paropamisus mountain to the outlets, a distance of twelve thousand stadia (though some say thirteen thousand); and that its length from the Caspian Gates, as recorded in the work entitled *Asiatic Stathmi*,<sup>4</sup> is stated in two ways: that is, as far as Alexandraia in the country of the Arii, from the Caspian Gates through the country of the Parthians, there is one and the same road; and then, from there, one road leads in a straight line through Bactriana and over the mountain pass into Ortospa to the meeting of the three roads from Bactra, which city is in the country of the Paropamisadae; whereas the other turns off slightly from Aria towards the south to Prophthasia in Drangiana, and the remainder of it leads back to the boundaries of India and to the Indus; so that this road which leads through the country of the Drangae and Arachoti is longer, its entire length being fifteen thousand three hundred stadia. But if one should subtract one thousand three hundred, one would have as the remainder the length of the country in a straight line, fourteen thousand stadia; for the length of the seacoast is not much less,<sup>5</sup> although some writers increase the total, putting down, in addition to the ten thousand stadia, Carmania with six thousand more; for they obviously reckon the length either along with the gulfs or along with the part of the Carmanian seacoast that is inside the Persian Gulf; and the name of Ariana is further extended to a part of Persia and of Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north; for these speak approximately the same language, with but slight variations.

9. The geographical position of the tribes is as follows: along the Indus are the Paropamisadae, above whom lies

the Paropamisus mountain : then, towards the south, the Arachoti : then next, towards the south, the Gedroseni, with the other tribes that occupy the seaboard : and the Indus lies, latitudinally, alongside all these places; and of these places, in part, some that lie along the Indus are held by Indians, although they formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander took these away from the Arians and established settlements of his own, but Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus, upon terms of intermarriage and of receiving in exchange five hundred elephants. Alongside the Paropamisadae, on the west, are situated the Arii, and alongside the Arachoti and Gedrosii, the Drangae; but the Arii are situated alongside the Drangae on the north as well as on the west, almost surrounding a small part of their country. Bactriana lies to the north alongside both Aria and the Paropamisadae, through whose country Alexander passed over the Caucasus on his march to Bactra. Towards the west, next to the Arii, are situated the Parthians and the region round the Caspian Gates; and to the south of these lies the desert of Carmania; and then follows the rest of Carmania and Gedrosia.

10. One would understand still better the accounts of the aforesaid mountainous country if one inquired further into the route which Alexander took in his pursuit of Bessus from the Parthian territory towards Bactriana; for he came into Ariana, and then amongst the Drangae, where he put to death the son of Parmenio,<sup>6</sup> whom he caught in a plot; and he also sent persons to Ecbatana to put to death the father of Philotas, as an accomplice in the plot. It is said that these persons, riding on dromedaries, completed in eleven days a journey of thirty days, or even forty, and accomplished their undertaking. The Drangae, who otherwise are imitators of the Persians in their mode of life, have only scanty supplies of wine, but they have tin in their country. Then, from the Drangae, Alexander, went to the Evergetae,<sup>7</sup> who were so named by Cyrus,<sup>8</sup> and to the Arachoti; and then, at the setting of the Pleiad, through the country of the Paropamisadae, a country which is mountainous, and at that time was covered with snow, so that it was hard to travel. However, numerous villages, well supplied with everything except oil, received them and alleviated their troubles; and they had the mountain summits on their left. Now the southern parts of the Paropamisus mountain belong to India and Ariana;



but as for the parts on the north, those towards the west belong to the Bactrians, whereas those towards the east belong to the barbarians who border on the Bactrians. He spent the winter here, with India above him to the right, and founded a city, and then passed over the top of the mountain into Bactriana, through roads that were bare of everything except a few terebinth trees of the shrub kind; and was so in lack of food that it was necessary to eat the flesh of the beasts of burden, and, for lack of wood, even to eat it raw. But the silphium, which grew in abundance there,<sup>9</sup> was helpful in the digestion of the raw food. On the fifteenth day after founding the city and leaving his winter quarters, he came to Adrapsa,<sup>10</sup> a city in Bactriana.

11. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of these parts of the country that borders on India lies Chaarenê; and this, of all the countries subject to the Parthians, lies closest to India. It is distant from Ariana,<sup>11</sup> through the land of the Arachoti and the above-mentioned mountainous country, nineteen thousand stadia.<sup>12</sup> Craterus traversed this country, at the same time subduing all who refused to submit, and went by the quickest route, being eager to join the king; and indeed both forces of infantry gathered together in Carmania at about the same time. And a little later Nearchus sailed with his fleet into the Persian Gulf, having often suffered distress because of his wanderings and hardships and the huge whales.

12. Now it is reasonable to suppose that those who made the journey by sea have prated in many cases to the point of exaggeration; but nevertheless their statements show indirectly at the same time the trouble with which they were afflicted—that underlying their real hardships there was apprehension rather than peril. But what disturbed them most was the spouting whales, which, by their spoutings, would emit such massive streams of water and mist all at once that the sailors could not see a thing that lay before them. But the pilots of the voyage informed the sailors, who were frightened at this and did not see the cause of it, that it was caused by creatures in the sea, and that one could get rid of them by sounding trumpets and making loud noises; and consequently Nearchus led his fleet towards the tumultuous spoutings of the whales, where they impeded his progress, and at the same time frightened them with trumpets; and the whales first dived, and then showed up at the sterns of the ships, thus affording the spectacle of a naval combat, but immediately made off.

13. Those who now sail to India, however, also speak of the size of these creatures and of their manner of appearance, but do not speak of them either as appearing in large groups or as often making attacks, though they do speak of them as being scared away and got rid of by shouts and trumpets. They say that these creatures do not approach the land, but that the bones of those that have died, when bared of flesh, are readily thrown ashore by the waves, and supply the Ichthyophagi with the above-mentioned material for the construction of their huts.<sup>13</sup> According to Nearchus, the size of the whales is twenty-three fathoms.<sup>14</sup> Nearchus says that he found to be false a thing confidently believed by the sailors in the fleet—I mean their belief that there was an island in the passage which caused the disappearance of all who moored near it; for he says that, although a certain light boat on a voyage was no longer to be seen after it approached this island, and although certain men sent in quest of the lost people sailed out past the island and would not venture to disembark upon it, but called the people with loud outcry, and, when no one answered their cry, came back, yet he himself, though one and all charged their disappearance to the island, sailed thither, moored there, disembarked with a part of those who sailed with him, and went all over it; but that he found no trace of the people sought, gave up his search, came back, and informed his people that the charge against the island was false (for otherwise both he himself and those who disembarked with him would have met with the same destruction), but that the disappearance of the light boat took place in some other way, since countless other ways were possible.

14. Carmania is last on the seaboard that begins at the Indus, though it is much more to the north than the outlet of the Indus. The first promontory of Carmania, however, extends out towards the south into the great sea; and Carmania, after forming, along with the cape that extends from Arabia Felix, which is in full view, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, bends towards the Persian Gulf until it borders on Persis. Carmania is a large country and, in the interior, extends between Gedrosia and Persis, although it deviates more towards the north than Gedrosia. This is plainly indicated by its fruitfulness; for it produces all manner of fruits, is full of large trees except the olive, and is also watered by rivers. Gedrosia differs but little from the country of the Ichthyophagi, and therefore often suffers crop failures; and on this account they keep the annual crop in storage, dealing it out for several years.

Onesicritus speaks of a river in Carmania that brings down gold-dust; and he says that there are also mines of silver and copper and ruddle, and also that there are two mountains, one consisting of arsenic<sup>15</sup> and the other of salt. Carmania also has a desert which borders at once<sup>16</sup> upon Parthia and Paraetacenê. And it has farm crops similar to those of the Persians, the vine among all the rest. It is from this vine that "the Carmanian," as we here call it, originated—a vine which often has clusters of even two cubits<sup>17</sup>, these clusters being thick with large grapes; and it is reasonable to suppose that this vine is more flourishing there than here. Because of scarcity of horses most of the Carmanians use asses, even for war; and they sacrifice an ass to Ares, the only god they worship, and they are a warlike people. No one marries before he has cut off the head of an enemy and brought it to the king; and the king stores the skull in the royal palace; and he then minces the tongue, mixes it with flour, tastes it himself, and gives it to the man who brought it to him, to be eaten by himself and family; and that king is held in the highest repute to whom the most heads have been brought. Nearchus states that the language and most of the customs of the Carmanians are like those of the Medes and Persians. The voyage across the mouth of the Persian Gulf requires no more than one day.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Orae" seems surely to be a variant spelling of "Oreitae".

<sup>1a</sup> Strabo refers to sections 1-3 above.

<sup>2</sup> Ariana, not Gedrosia, as some think.

<sup>3</sup> Merely a portion of Ariana.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the various *Halting-places* in Asia. The same records have already been referred to in 15.1.11. The author of this work appears to have been a certain Amyntas, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition (see Athenaeus 11.500 D, 12.529 E, 2.67 A, and Aelian 17.17).

<sup>5</sup> The length given in section 1 (above) is 12,900.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., Philotas.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., "Benefactors".

<sup>8</sup> Cyrus the Elder—in return for their kindly services when he marched through the desert of Carmania (Arrian 3.27.37).

<sup>9</sup> Strabo seems to refer to the juice of the "terebinth" above-mentioned.

<sup>10</sup> "Adrapsa" is probably an error for "Gadrapsa"

<sup>11</sup> An error, apparently, for Aria.

<sup>12</sup> This figure, as given in the MSS., is preposterous. But a slight

emendation yields "ten, or nine, thousand stadia", which is more nearly correct.

<sup>13</sup> 15.2.2.

<sup>14</sup> i.e., about 140 feet in length.

<sup>15</sup> So the Greek word, but of course Strabo means yellow orpiment (arsenic trisulphide).

<sup>16</sup> i.e., at its north-western corner.

<sup>17</sup> In circumference, surely.

## C CURTIUS RUFUS, QUINTUS

Hardly anything is known of the personal history of Curtius Rufus, Quintus. According to some modern authorities, he was a rhetorician and flourished during the reign of the Roman Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54). His work, "*The History of Alexander the Great*" (*De Rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*), which originally consisted of ten books, is only partially preserved. The first two are altogether lost and the other eight are also incomplete. "Although the work is uncritical, and shows the author's ignorance of geography, chronology and military matters, it is written in a picturesque style".

The following translation is reproduced from M. I. There is an English translation by P. Pratt (1821).

### HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, BY Q. CURTIUS RUFUS

#### EIGHTH BOOK

#### CHAPTER IX

#### Description of India.

ALEXANDER, not to foster repose which naturally sets rumours in circulation, advanced towards India, always adding more to his glory by warfare than by his acts after victory.

India lies almost entirely towards the east, and it is of less extent in breadth than in length. The southern parts rise in hills of considerable elevation. The country is elsewhere level, and hence many famous rivers which rise in Mount Caucasus traverse the plains with languid currents. The Indus is colder than the other rivers, and its waters differ but little in colour from those of the sea. The Ganges, which is the greatest of all rivers in the east, flows down to the south country, and running in a straight bed washes great mountain-chains until a barrier of rocks diverts its course towards the east. Both rivers enter the Red Sea. The Indus wears away its banks, absorbing into its waters great numbers of trees and much of the soil. It is besides obstructed with rocks by which it is frequently beaten back. Where it finds the soil soft and yielding it spreads out into pools and forms islands. The Acesines increases its volume. The Ganges, in running downward to the sea, intercepts the Iomanes, and the two streams dash against each other with great violence. The Ganges in fact presents a rough face to the entrance of its affluent, the waters of which though beaten back in eddies, hold their own.

The Dyardanes is less frequently mentioned, as it flows through the remotest parts of India. But it breeds not only crocodiles, like the Nile, but dolphins also, and various aquatic monsters unknown to other nations. The Ethimanthus, which curves time after time in frequent meanders, is used up for irrigation by the people on its banks. Hence it contributes to the sea but a small and nameless residue of its waters. The country is everywhere intersected with many rivers besides these, but they are obscure, their course being too short to bring them into prominent notice. The maritime tracts, however, are most parched up by the north wind. This wind is prevented by the mountain-summits from penetrating to the interior parts which for this reason are mild and nourish the crops. But so completely has nature altered the regular changes of the season in these regions that, when other countries are basking under the hot rays of the sun, India is covered with snow; and, on the other hand, when the world elsewhere is frost-bound, India is oppressed with intolerable heat. The reason why nature has thus inverted her order is not apparent; the sea, at any rate, by which India is washed does not differ in colour from other seas. It takes its name from King Erythrus, and hence ignorant people believe that its waters are red.

The soil produces flax from which the dress ordinarily worn by the natives is made. The tender side of the barks of trees receives written characters like paper. The birds can be readily trained to imitate the sounds of human speech. The animals except those imported are unknown among other nations. The same country yields fit food for the rhinoceros, but this animal is not indigenous. The elephants are more powerful than those tamed in Africa, and their size corresponds to their strength. Gold is carried down by several rivers, whose loitering waters glide with slow and gentle currents. The sea casts upon the shores precious stones and pearls, nor has anything contributed more to the opulence of the natives, especially since they spread the community of evil to foreign nations; for these offscourings of the boiling sea are valued at the price which fashion sets on coveted luxuries.

The character of the people is here, as elsewhere, formed by the position of their country and its climate. They cover their persons down to the feet with fine muslin, are shod with sandals, and coil round their heads cloths of linen (cotton). They hang precious stones as pendants from their ears, and persons of high

social rank, or of great wealth, deck their wrist and upper arm with bracelets of gold. They frequently comb, but seldom cut, the hair of their head. The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished. The luxury of their kings, or as they call it, their magnificence is carried to a vicious excess without a parallel in the world.

When the king condescends to show himself in public his attendants carry in their hands silver censers, and perfume with incense all the road by which it is his pleasure to be conveyed. He lolls in a golden palanquin, garnished with pearls, which dangle all round it, and he is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. Behind his palanquin follow men-at-arms and his body-guards, of whom some carry boughs of trees, on which birds are perched trained to interrupt business with their cries. The palace is adorned with gilded pillars clasped all round by a vine embossed in gold, while silver images of those birds which most charm the eye diversify the workmanship. The palace is open to all comers even when the king is having his hair combed and dressed. It is then that he gives audience to ambassadors, and administers justice to his subjects. His slippers being after this taken off, his feet are rubbed with scented ointments. His principal exercise is hunting; amid the vows and songs of his courtesans he shoots the game enclosed within the royal park. The arrows, which are two cubits long, are discharged with more effort than effect, for though the force of these missiles depends on their lightness they are loaded with an obnoxious weight. He rides on horseback when making short journeys, but when bound on a distant expedition he rides in a chariot (howdah) mounted on elephants, and, huge as these animals are, their bodies are covered completely over with trappings of gold. That no form of shameless profligacy may be wanting, he is accompanied by a long train of courtesans carried in golden palanquins, and this troop holds a separate place in the procession from the queen's retinue, and is as sumptuously appointed. His food is prepared by women, who also serve him with wine, which is much used by all the Indians. When the king falls into a drunken sleep his courtesans carry him away to his bedchamber, invoking the gods of the night in their native hymns.

Amid this corruption of morals who would expect to find the

culture of philosophy? Notwithstanding, they have men whom they call philosophers, of whom one class lives in the woods and fields, and is extremely uncouth. They think it glorious to anticipate the hour of destiny, and arrange to have themselves burned alive when age has destroyed their activity, or the failure of health has made life burdensome. They regard death if waited for as a disgrace to their life, and when dissolution is simply the effect of old age funeral honours are denied to the dead body. They think that the fire is polluted unless the pyre receives the body before the breath has yet left it. Those philosophers again who lead a civilised life in cities are said to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and to predict future events on scientific principles. They believe that no one accelerates the day of his death who can without fear await its coming.

They regard as gods whatever objects they value, especially trees, to violate which is a capital offence. Their months they make to consist each of fifteen days, but they nevertheless assign to the year its full duration. They mark the divisions of time by the course of the moon, not like most nations when that planet shows a full face, but when she begins to appear horned, and hence, by fixing the duration of a month to correspond with this phase of the moon, they have their months one-half shorter than the months of other people. Many other things have been related of them, but to interrupt with them the progress of the narrative I consider quite out of place.

## CHAPTER X

Campaign in the regions west of the Indus—Alexander captures Nysa, and visits Mount Merus—  
Siege of Mazaga, and its surrender.

Alexander had no sooner entered India than the chiefs of various tribes came to meet him with proffers of service. He was, they said, the third descendant of Jupiter who had visited their country, and that while Father Bacchus and Hercules were known to them merely by tradition, him they saw present before their eyes. To these he accorded a gracious reception, and intending to employ them as his guides, he bade them to accompany him. But when no more chiefs came to surrender, he despatched



Hephaestion and Perdicas in advance with a part of his army to reduce whatever tribes declined his authority. He ordered them to proceed to the Indus and build boats for transporting the army to the other side of that river. Since many rivers would have to be crossed, they so constructed the vessels that, after being taken to pieces, the sections could be conveyed in waggons, and be again pieced together. He himself, leaving Craterus to follow with the infantry, pressed forward with the cavalry and light troops, and falling in with the enemy easily routed them, and chased them into the nearest city. Craterus had now rejoined him, and the king, wishing to strike terror into this people, who had not yet probed the Macedonian arms, gave previous orders that when the fortifications of the city under siege had been burned, not a soul was to be left alive. Now, in riding up to the walls he was wounded by an arrow, but he captured the place, and having massacred all the inhabitants, vented his rage even upon the buildings.

Having conquered this obscure tribe, he moved thence towards the city of Nysa. The camp, it so happened, was pitched under the walls on woody ground, and as the cold at night was more piercing than had ever before been felt, it made the soldiers shiver. But they were fortunate enough to have at hand the means of making a fire, for felling the corpses they kindled a flame, and fed it with faggots, so that it seized the tombs of the citizens, which, being made of old cedar wood, spread the fire they had caught in all directions till every tomb was burned down. The barking of dogs was now heard from the town, followed by the clamour of human voices from the camp. Thus the citizens discovered that the enemy had arrived, and the Macedonians that they were close to the city.

The king had now drawn out his forces and was assaulting the walls, when some of the defenders risked an engagement. These were, however, overpowered with darts, so that dissensions broke out among the Nysaeans, some advising submission, but others the trial of a battle. Alexander, on discovering that their opinions were divided, instituted a close blockade, but forbade further bloodshed.

After a while they surrendered, unable to endure longer the miseries of a blockade. Their city, so they asserted, was founded by Father Bacchus, and this was in fact its origin. It was situated at the foot of a mountain which the inhabitants call

Meros, whence the Greeks took the license of coining the fable that Father Bacchus had been concealed in the thigh of Jupiter. The king learned from the inhabitants where the mountain lay, and sending provisions on before, climbed to its summit with his whole army. There they saw the ivy-plant and the vine growing in great luxuriance all over the mountain, and perennial waters gushing from its slopes. The juices of the fruits were various and wholesome since the soil favoured the growth of chance-sown seeds, and even the crags were frequently overhung with thickets of laurel and spikenard. I attribute it not to any divine impulse, but to wanton folly, that they wreathed their brows with chaplets of gathered ivy and vine-leaves, and roved at large through the woods like bacchanals; so that, when the folly initiated by a few had, as usually happens, suddenly infected the whole multitude, the slopes and peaks of the mountain rang with the shouts of thousands paying their homage to the guardian divinity of the grove. Nay, they even flung themselves down full length on the greensward, or on heaps of leaves as if peace reigned all around. The king himself, so far from looking askance at this extemporaneous revel, supplied with a liberal hand all kinds of viands for feasting, and kept the army engaged for ten days in celebrating the orgies of Father Bacchus. Who then can deny that even distinguished glory is a boon for which mortals are oftener indebted to fortune than to merit, seeing that when they had abandoned themselves to feasting and were drowsed with wine the enemy had not even the courage to fall upon them, being terrified no less by the uproar and howling made by the revellers than if the shouts of warriors rushing to battle had rung in their ears. The like good fortune afterwards protected them in the presence of their enemies when on returning from the ocean they gave themselves up to drunken festivity.

From Nysa they came to a region called Daedala. The inhabitants had deserted their habitation and fled for safety to the trackless recesses of their mountain forests. He therefore passed on to Acadira, which he found burned, and like Daedala deserted by the flight of the inhabitants. Necessity made him therefore change his plan of operations. For having divided his forces he showed his arms at many points at once, and the inhabitants taken by surprise were overwhelmed with calamities of every kind. Ptolemy took a greater number of cities, and Alexander himself those that were more important. This done,

he again drew together his scattered forces. Having next crossed the river Choaspes, he left Coenus to besiege an opulent city—the inhabitants called it Beira—while he himself went on to Mazaga.

Assacanus, its previous sovereign, had lately died, and his mother Cleophis now ruled the city and the realm. An army of 38,000 infantry defended the city which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. For on the east, an impetuous mountain-stream with steep banks on both sides barred approach to the city, while to south and west nature, as if designing to form a rampart, had piled up gigantic rocks, at the base of which lay sloughs and yawning chasms hollowed in the course of ages to vast depths, while a ditch of mighty labour drawn from their extremity continued the line of defence. The city was besides surrounded with a wall 35 stadia in circumference which had a basis of stone-work supporting a superstructure of unburnt, sun-dried bricks. The brick-work was bound into a solid fabric by means of stones so interposed that the more brittle material rested upon the harder, while moist clay had been used for mortar. Lest, however, the structure should all at once sink, strong beams had been laid upon these, supporting wooden floors which covered the walls and afforded a passage along them.

Alexander while reconnoitring the fortifications, and unable to fix on a plan of attack, since nothing less than a vast mole, necessary for bringing up his engines to the walls, would suffice to fill up the chasms, was wounded from the ramparts by an arrow which chanced to hit him in the calf of the leg. When the barb was extracted, he called for his horse, and without having his wound so much as bandaged, continued with unabated energy to prosecute the work on hand. But when the injured limb was hanging without support and the gradual cooling, as the blood dried, aggravated the pain, he is reported to have said that though he was called, as all know, the son of Jupiter, he felt notwithstanding all the defects of the weak body. He did not, however, return to the camp till he had viewed everything and ordered what he wanted to be done. Accordingly some of the soldiers began, as directed, to destroy the houses outside the city and to take from the ruins much material for raising a mole, while others cast into the hollows large trunks of trees, branches and all, together with great masses of rock. When the mole had now been raised to a level with the surface of the ground, they pro-

ceeded to erect towers; and so zealously did the soldiers prosecute the works, that they finished them completely within nine days. These the king, before his wound had as yet closed, proceeded to inspect. He commended the troops, and then, from the engines which he had ordered to be propelled, a great storm of missiles was discharged against the defenders on the ramparts. What had most effect in intimidating the barbarians was the spectacle of the movable towers, for to works of that description they were utter strangers.

Those vast fabrics moving without visible aid, they believed to be propelled by the agency of the gods. It was impossible, they said, that those javelins for attacking walls—those ponderous darts hurled from engines—could be within the compass of mortal power. Giving up therefore the defence as hopeless, they withdrew into the citadel, whence, as nothing but to surrender was open to the besieged, they sent down envoys to the king to sue for pardon. This being granted, the queen came with a great train of noble ladies who poured out libations of wine from golden bowls. The queen herself, having placed her son, still a child, at Alexander's knees, obtained not only pardon, but permission to retain her former dignity, for she was styled queen, and some have believed that this indulgent treatment was accorded rather to the charms of her person than to pity for her misfortunes. At all events she afterwards gave birth to a son who received the name of Alexander, whoever his father may have been.

## CHAPTER XI

### Siege and capture of the Rock Aornus.

Polypercon being despatched hence with an army to the city of Nora, defeated the undisciplined multitude which he encountered, and pursuing them within their fortifications compelled them to surrender the place. Into the king's own hands there fell many inconsiderable towns, deserted by their inhabitants who had escaped in time with their arms and seized a rock called Aornus. A report was current that this stronghold had been in vain assaulted by Hercules, who had been compelled by an earthquake to raise the siege. The rock being on all sides steep and rugged, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, when there

came to him an elderly man familiar with the locality accompanied by two sons, offering, if Alexander would make it worth his while, to show him a way of access to the summit. Alexander agreed to give him eighty talents, and, keeping one of his sons as a hostage, sent him to make good his offer. Mullinus (Eumenes?), the king's secretary, was put in command of the light-armed men, for these, as had been decided, were to climb to the summit by a detour, to prevent their being seen by the enemy.

This rock does not, like most eminences, grow up to its towering top by gradual and easy acclivities, but rises up straight just like the *meta*, which from a wide base tapers off in ascending till it terminates in a sharp pinnacle. The river Indus, here very deep and enclosed between rugged banks, washes its roots. In another quarter are swamps and craggy ravines and only by filling up these could an assault upon the stronghold be rendered practicable. A wood which was contiguous the king directed to be cut down. The trees where they fell were stripped of their leaves and branches which would otherwise have proved an impediment to their transport. He himself threw in the first trunk, whereupon followed a loud cheer from the army, a token of its alacrity, no one refusing a labour to which the king was the first to put his hand. Within the seventh day they had filled up the hollows, and then the king directed the archers and the Agrianians to struggle up the steep ascent. He selected besides from his personal staff thirty of the most active among the young men, whom he placed under the command of Charus and Alexander. The latter he reminded of the name which he bore in common with himself.

And at first, because the peril was so palpable, a resolution was passed that the king should not hazard his safety by taking part in the assault. But when the trumpet sounded the signal, the audacious prince at once turned to his body-guards, and bidding them to follow, was the first to assail the rock. None of the Macedonians then held back, but all spontaneously left their posts and followed the king. Many perished by a dismal fate, for they fell from the shelving crags and were engulfed in the river which flowed underneath—a piteous sight even for those who were not themselves in danger. But when reminded by the destruction of their comrades what they had to dread for themselves, their pity changed to fear, and they began to lament

not for the dead but for themselves.

And now they had attained a point whence they could not return without disaster unless victorious, for as the barbarians rolled down massive stones upon them while they climbed, such as were struck fell headlong from their insecure and slippery positions. Alexander and Charus, however, whom the king had sent in advance with the thirty chosen men, reached the summit, and had by this time engaged in a hand-to-hand fight; but since the barbarians discharged their darts from higher ground, the assailants received more wounds than they inflicted. So then Alexander, mindful alike of his name and his promise, in fighting with more spirit than judgment, fell pierced with many darts. Charus, seeing him lying dead, made a rush upon the enemy, caring for nothing but revenge. Many received their death from his spear and others from his sword. But as he was single-handed against overwhelming odds, he sank lifeless on the body of his friend.

The king, duly affected by the death of these heroic youths and the other soldiers, gave the signal for retiring. It conduced to the safety of the troops that they retreated leisurely, preserving their coolness, and that the barbarians, satisfied with having driven them down hill, did not close on them when they withdrew. But, though Alexander had resolved to abandon the enterprise, deeming the capture of the rock hopeless, he still made demonstrations of persevering with the siege, for by his order the avenues were blocked, the towers advanced, and the working parties relieved when tired. The Indians, on seeing his pertinacity, by way of demonstrating not only their confidence but their triumph, devoted two days and nights to festivity and beating their national music out of their drums. But on the third night the rattle of the drums ceased to be heard. Torches, however, which, as the night was dark, the barbarians had lighted to make their flight safer down the precipitous crags, shed their glare over every part of the rocks.

The king learned from Balacrus, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, that the Indians had fled and abandoned the rock. He thereupon gave a signal that his men should raise a general shout, and they thus struck terror into the fugitives as they were making off in disorder. Then many, as if the enemy were already upon them, flung themselves headlong over the slippery rocks and precipices and perished, while a still greater number, who

were hurt, were left to their fate by those who had descended without accident. Although it was the position rather than the enemy he had conquered, the king gave to this success the appearance of a great victory by offering sacrifices and worship to the gods. Upon the rock he erected altars dedicated to Minerva and Victory. To the guides who had shown the way to the light-armed detachment which had been sent to scale the rock, he honourably paid the stipulated recompense, even although their performance had fallen short of their promises. The defence of the rock and the country surrounding was entrusted to Sisocostus.

## CHAPTER XII

Alexander marches to the Indus, crosses it, and is hospitably received by Omphis, King of Taxila.

Thence he marched towards Embolima, but on learning that the pass which led thereto was occupied by 20,000 men in arms under Erix, he hurried forward himself with the archers and slingers, leaving the heavy-armed troops under the command of Coenus to advance leisurely. Having dislodged those men who beset the defile, he cleared the passage for the army which followed. The Indians, either from disaffection to their chief or to court the favour of the conqueror, set upon Erix during his flight and killed him. They brought his head and his armour to Alexander, who did not punish them for their crime, but to condemn their example gave them no reward. Having left this pass, he arrived after the sixteenth encampment at the river Indus, where he found that Hephaestion, agreeably to his orders, had made all the necessary preparations for the passage across it.

The sovereign of the territories on the other side was Omphis who had urged his father to surrender his kingdom to Alexander, and had moreover at his father's death sent envoys to enquire whether it was Alexander's pleasure that he should meanwhile exercise authority or remain in a private capacity till his arrival. He was permitted to assume the sovereignty, but modestly forbore to exercise its functions. He had extended to Hephaestion marks of civility, and given corn gratuitously to his soldiers, but he had not gone to join him, from a reluctance to make trial of the good faith of any but Alexander. According-

ly, on Alexander's approach he went to meet him at the head of an army equipped for the field. He had even brought his elephants with him, which, posted at short intervals amidst the ranks of the soldiery, appeared to the distant spectator like towers.

Alexander at first thought it was not a friendly but a hostile army that approached, and had already ordered the soldiers to arm themselves, and the cavalry to divide to the wings, and was ready for action. But the Indian prince, on seeing the mistake of the Macedonians, put his horse to the gallop, leaving orders that no one else was to stir from his place. Alexander likewise galloped forward, not knowing whether it was an enemy or a friend he had to encounter, but trusting for safety perhaps to his valour, perhaps to the other's good faith. They met in a friendly spirit, as far as could be gathered from the expression of each one's face, but from the want of an interpreter to converse was impossible. An interpreter was therefore procured, and then the barbarian prince explained that he had come with his army to meet Alexander that he might at once place at his disposal all the forces of his empire, without waiting to tender his allegiance through deputies. He surrendered, he said, his person and his kingdom to a man who, as he knew, was fighting not more for fame than fearing to incur the reproach of perfidy.

The king, pleased with the simple honesty of the barbarian, gave him his right hand as a pledge of his own good faith, and confirmed him in his sovereignty. The prince had brought with him six and fifty elephants, and these he gave to Alexander, with a great many sheep of an extraordinary size, and 3000 bulls of a valuable breed, highly prized by the rulers of the country. When Alexander asked him whether he had more husbandmen or soldiers, he replied that as he was at war with two kings he required more soldiers than field labourers. These kings were Abisares and Porus, but Porus was superior in power and influence. Both of them held away beyond the river Hydaspes, and had resolved to try the fortune of war whatever invader might come.

Omphis, under Alexander's permission, and according to the usage of the realm, assumed the ensigns of royalty along with the name which his father had borne. His people called him Taxiles, for such was the name which accompanied the sovereignty, on whomsoever it devolved. When, therefore, he had enter-



tained Alexander for three days with lavish hospitality, he showed him on the fourth day what quantity of corn he had supplied to Hephaestion's troops, and then presented him and all his friends with golden crowns, and eighty talents besides of coined silver. Alexander was so exceedingly gratified with this profuse generosity that he not only sent back to Omphis the presents he had given, but added a thousand talents from the spoils which he carried, along with many banqueting vessels of gold and silver, a vast quantity of Persian drapery, and thirty chargers from his own stalls, caparisoned as when ridden by himself.

This liberality, while it bound the barbarian to his interests, gave at the same time the deepest offence to his own friends. One of them, Meleager, who had taken too much wine at supper, said that he congratulated Alexander on having found in India, if nowhere else, some one worthy of a thousand talents. The king, who had not forgotten what remorse he had suffered when he killed Clitus for audacity of speech, controlled his temper, but remarked that envious persons were nothing but their own tormentors.

### CHAPTER XIII

#### Alexander and Porus confront each other on opposite banks of the Hydaspes.

On the following day envoys from Abisares reached the king, and, as they had been instructed, surrendered to him all that their master possessed. After pledges of good faith had been interchanged, they were sent back to their sovereign. Alexander, thinking that by the mere prestige of his name Porus also would be induced to surrender, sent Cleochares to tell him in peremptory terms that he must pay tribute and come to meet his sovereign at the very frontiers of his own dominions. Porus answered that he would comply with the second of these demands, and when Alexander entered his realm he would meet him, but come armed for battle. Alexander had now resolved to cross the Hydaspes, when Barzaentes, who had instigated the Arachosians to revolt, was brought to him in chains, along with thirty captured elephants, an opportune reinforcement against the Indians, since these huge beasts more than the soldiery constituted the hope and main strength of an Indian army.

Samaxus was also brought in chains, the king of a small Indian state, who had espoused the cause of Barzaentes. Alexander having then put the traitor and his accomplice under custody, and consigned the elephants to the care of Taxiles, advanced till he reached the river Hydaspes, where on the further bank Porus had encamped to prevent the enemy from landing. In the van of his army he had posted 85 elephants of the greatest size and strength, and behind these 300 chariots and somewhere about 30,000 infantry, among whom were the archers, whose arrows, as already stated, were too ponderous to be readily discharged. He was himself mounted on an elephant which towered above all its fellows, while his armour, embellished with gold and silver, set off his supremely majestic person to great advantage. His courage matched his bodily vigour, and his wisdom was the utmost attainable in a rude community.

The Macedonians were intimidated not only by the appearance of the enemy, but by the magnitude of the river to be crossed, which, spreading out to a width of no less than four stadia in a deep channel which nowhere opened a passage by fords, presented the aspect of a vast sea. Yet its rapidity did not diminish in proportion to its wider diffusion, but it rushed impetuously like a seething torrent compressed into a narrow bed by the closing in of its banks. Besides, at many points the presence of sunken rocks was revealed where the waves were driven back in eddies. The bank presented a still more formidable aspect, for, as far as the eye could see, it was covered with cavalry and infantry, in the midst of which, like so many massive structures, stood the huge elephants, which, being of set purpose provoked by their drivers, distressed the ear with their frightful roars. The enemy and the river both in their front, struck with sudden dismay the hearts of the Macedonians, disposed though they were to entertain good hopes, and knowing from experience against what fearful odds they had ere now contended. They could not believe that boats so unhandy could be steered to the bank or gain it in safety. In the middle of the river were numerous islands to which both the Indians and Macedonians began to swim over, holding their weapons above their heads. Here they would engage in skirmishes, while each king endeavoured from the result of these minor conflicts to gauge the issue of the final struggle. In the Macedonian army were Symmachus and Nicanor, both young men of noble lineage, distinguished for their

hardihood and enterprise and from the uniform success of their side in whatever they assayed, inspired with a contempt for every kind of danger. Led by these, a party of the boldest youths, equipped with nothing but lances, swam over to the island when it was occupied by crowds of the enemy.

Armed with audacious courage, the best of all weapons, they slew many of the Indians, and might have retired with glory if temerity when successful could ever keep within bounds. But while with contempt and pride they waited till succours reached the enemy, they were surrounded by men who had unperceived swum over to the island, and were overthrown by discharges of missiles. Such as escaped the enemy were either swept away by the force of the current or swallowed up in its eddies. This fight exalted the confidence of Porus, who had witnessed from the bank all its vicissitudes.

Alexander, perplexed how to cross the river, at last devised a plan for duping the enemy. In the river lay an island larger than the rest, wooded and suitable for concealing an ambuscade. A deep hollow, moreover, which lay not far from the bank in his own occupation, was capable of hiding not only foot soldiers but mounted cavalry. To divert, therefore, the attention of the enemy from a place possessing such advantages, he ordered Ptolemy with all his squadrons of horse to ride up and down at a distance from the island in view of the enemy, and now and then to alarm the Indians by shouting, as if he meant to make the passage of river. For several days Ptolemy repeated this feint, and thus obliged Porus to concentrate his troops at the point which he pretended to threaten.

The island was now beyond view of the enemy. Alexander then gave orders that his own tent should be pitched on a part of the bank looking the other way, that the guard of honour which usually attended him should be posted before it, and that all the pageantry of royal state should be paraded before the eyes of the enemy on purpose to deceive them. He besides requested Attalus, who was about his own age, and not unlike him in form and feature, especially when seen from a distance, to wear the royal mantle, and so make it appear as if the king in person was guarding that part of the bank without any intention of crossing the river. The state of the weather at first hindered, but afterwards favoured, the execution of this design, fortune making even untoward circumstances turn out to his ultimate advantage. For

when the enemy was busy watching the troops under Ptolemy which occupied the bank lower down, and Alexander with the rest of his forces was making ready to cross the river and reach the land over against the island already mentioned, a storm poured down torrents of rain, against which even those under cover could scarcely protect themselves. The soldiers, overcome by the fury of the elements, deserted the boats and ships, and fled back for safety to land, but the din occasioned by their hurry and confusion could not be heard by the enemy amid the roar of the tempest. All of a sudden the rain then ceased, but clouds so dense overspread the sky that they hid the light, and made it scarcely possible for men conversing together to see each other's faces.

Any other leader but Alexander would have been appalled by the darkness drawn over the face of heaven just when he was starting on a voyage across an unknown river, with the enemy perhaps guarding the very bank to which his men were blindly and imprudently directing their course. But the king deriving glory from danger and regarding the darkness which terrified others as his opportunity, gave the signal that all should embark in silence, and ordered that the galley which carried himself should be the first to be run aground on the other side. The bank, however, towards which they steered was not occupied by the enemy, for Porus was in fact still intently watching Ptolemy only. Hence all the ships made the passage in safety except just one, which stuck on a rock whither it had been driven by the wind. Alexander then ordered the soldiers to take their arms and to fall into their ranks.

#### CHAPTER XIV

##### Battle with Porus on the left bank of the Hydaspes— Porus being defeated surrenders.

He was already in full march at the head of his army which he had divided into two columns, when the tidings reached Porus that the bank was occupied by a military force, and that the crisis of his fortunes was now imminent. In keeping with the infirmity of our nature, which makes us ever hope the best, he at first indulged the belief that this was his ally Abisares come to help him in the war as had been agreed upon. But soon after, when the sky had become clearer, and showed the ranks to be those of the

enemy, he sent 100 chariots and 4000 horse to obstruct their advance. The command of this detachment he gave to his brother Hages. Its main strength lay in the chariots, each of which was drawn by four horses and carried six men, of whom two were shield-bearers, two, archers posted on each side of the chariot, and the other two, charioteers, as well as men-at-arms, for when the fighting was at close quarters they dropped the reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy.

But on this particular day these chariots proved to be scarcely of any service, for the storm of rain, which, as already said, was of extraordinary violence, had made the ground slippery, and unfit for horses to ride over, while the chariots kept sticking in the muddy sloughs formed by the rain, and proved almost immovable from their great weight. Alexander, on the other hand, charged with the utmost vigour, because his troops were lightly armed and unencumbered. The Scythians and Dahae first of all attacked the Indians, and then the king launched Perdicas with his horse upon their right wing. The fighting had now become hot everywhere, when the drivers of the chariots rode at full speed into the midst of the battle, thinking they could thus most effectively succour their friends. It would be hard to say which side suffered most from this charge, for the Macedonian foot-soldiers, who were exposed to the first shock of the onset, were trampled down, while the charioteers were hurled from their seats, when the chariots in rushing into action jolted over broken and slippery ground. Some again of the horses took fright and precipitated the carriages not only into the sloughs and pools of water, but even into the river itself.

A few which were driven off the field by the darts of the enemy made their way to Porus, who was making most energetic preparations for the contest. As soon as he saw his chariots scattered amid his ranks, and wandering about without their drivers, he distributed his elephants to his friends who were nearest him. Behind them he had posted the infantry and the archers and the men who beat the drums, the instruments which the Indians use instead of trumpets to produce their war music. The rattle of these instruments does not in the least alarm the elephants, their ears, through long familiarity, being deadened to the sound. An image of Hercules was borne in front of the line of infantry, and this acted as the strongest of all incentives to make the soldiers fight well. To desert the bearers of this image was reckoned a

disgraceful military offence, and they had even ordained death as a penalty for those who failed to bring it back from the battlefield, for the dread which the Indians had conceived for the god when he was their enemy had been toned down to a feeling of religious awe and veneration.

The sight not only of the huge beasts, but even of Porus himself, made the Macedonians pause for a time, for the beasts, which had been placed at intervals between the armed ranks, presented, when seen from a distance, the appearance of towers, and Porus himself not only surpassed the standard of height to which we conceive the human figure to be limited, but, besides this, the elephant on which he was mounted seemed to add to his proportions, for it towered over all the other elephants even as Porus himself stood taller than other men. Hence Alexander, after attentively viewing the king and the army of the Indians, remarked to those near him, "I see at last a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and men of uncommon mettle that the contest now lies". Then turning to Coenus, "When I," he said, "along with Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Hephaestion, have fallen upon the enemy's left wing, and you see me in the heat of the conflict, do you then advance the right wing, and charge the enemy when their ranks begin to waver. And you, sirs," he added, turning to Antigenes, Loennatus, and Tauron, "must bear down upon their centre, and press them hard in front. The formidable length and strength of our pikes will never be so useful as when they are directed against these huge beasts and their drivers. Hurl, then, their riders to the ground, and stab the beasts themselves. Their assistance is not of a kind to be depended on, and they may do their own side more damage than ours, for they are driven against the enemy by constraint, while terror turns them against their own ranks".

Having spoken thus he was the first to put spurs to his horse. And now, as had been arranged, Coenus, upon seeing that Alexander was at close-quarters with the enemy, threw his cavalry with great fury upon their left wing. The phalanx besides, at the first onset, broke through the centre of the Indians. But Porus ordered his elephants to be driven into action where he had seen cavalry charging his ranks. The slow-footed unwieldy animals, however, were unfitted to cope with the rapid movements of horses, and the barbarians were besides unable to use even their arrows. These weapons were really so long and heavy that the

archers could not readily adjust them on the string unless by first resting their bow upon the ground. Then, as the ground was slippery and hindered their efforts, the enemy had time to charge them before they could deliver their blows.

The king's authority was in these circumstances unheeded, and, as usually happens when the ranks are broken, and fear begins to dictate orders more peremptorily than the general himself, as many took the command upon themselves as there were scattered bodies of troops. Some proposed that these bodies should unite, others that they should form separate detachments, some that they should wait to be attacked, others that they should wheel round and charge the enemy in the rear. No common plan of action was after all concerted. Porus, however, with a few friends in whom the sense of honour was stronger than fear, rallied his scattered forces, and marching in front of his line, advanced against the enemy with the elephants. These animals inspired great terror, and their strange dissonant cries frightened not only the horses, which shy at everything, but the men also, and disordered the ranks, so that those who just before were victorious began now to look round them for a place to which they could flee. Alexander thereupon despatched against the elephants the lightly armed Agrianians and the Thracians, troops more serviceable in skirmishing than in close combat. They assailed the elephants and their drivers with a furious storm of missiles, and the phalanx, on seeing the resulting terror and confusion, steadily pressed forward.

Some, however, by pursuing too eagerly, so irritated the animals with wounds that they turned their rage upon them and they were in consequence trampled to death under their feet, thus warning others to attack them with greater caution. The most dismal of all sights was when the elephants would, with their trunks, grasp the men, arms and all, and hoisting them above their heads, deliver them over into the hands of their drivers. Thus the battle was doubtful, the Macedonians sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants, so that the struggle was prolonged till the day was far spent. Then they began to hack the feet of the beasts with axes which they had prepared for the purpose, having besides a kind of sword somewhat curved like a scythe, and called a chopper, wherewith they aimed at their trunks. In fact, their fear of the animals led them not only to leave no means untried for killing them, but even for killing

them with unheard of forms of cruelty.

Hence the elephants, being at last spent with wounds, spread havoc among their own ranks, and threw their drivers to the ground, who were then trampled to death by their own beasts. They were therefore driven from the field of battle like a flock of sheep, as they were maddened with terror rather than vicious. Porus, meanwhile, being left in the lurch by the majority of his men, began to hurl from his elephant the darts with which he had beforehand provided himself, and while many were wounded from afar by his shot he was himself exposed as a butt for blows from every quarter. He had already received nine wounds before and behind, and became so faint from the great loss of blood that the darts were dropped rather than flung from his feeble hands. But his elephant, waxing furious though not yet wounded, kept charging the ranks of the enemy until the driver, perceiving the king's condition—his limbs failing him, his weapons dropping from his grasp, and his consciousness almost gone—turned the beast round and fled.

Alexander pursued, but his horse being pierced with many wounds fainted under him, and sank to the ground, laying the king down gently rather than throwing him from his seat. The necessity of changing his horse retarded of course his pursuit. In the meantime the brother of Taxiles the Indian King whom Alexander had sent on before, advised Porus not to persist in holding out to the last extremity, but to surrender himself to the conqueror. Porus, however, though his strength was exhausted, and his blood nearly spent, yet roused himself at the well-known voice, and said, "I recognise the brother of Taxiles, who gave up his throne and kingdom". Therewith he flung at him the one dart that had not slipped from his grasp, and flung it too with such force that it pierced right through his back to his chest. Having roused himself to this last effort of valour, he began to flee faster than before, but his elephant, which had by this time received many wounds, was now, like himself, quite exhausted, so that he stopped the flight, and made head against the pursuers with his remaining infantry.

Alexander had now come up, and knowing how obstinate Porus was, forbade quarter to be given to those who resisted. The infantry, therefore, and Porus himself, were assailed with darts from all points, and as he could no longer bear up against them he began to slip from his elephant. The Indian driver, thinking



the king wished to alight, made the elephant kneel down in the usual manner. On seeing this the other elephants also knelt down, for they had been trained to lower themselves when the royal elephant did so. Porus and his men were thus placed entirely at the mercy of the conqueror. Alexander, supposing that he was dead, ordered his body to be stripped, and men then ran forward to take off his breastplate and robes, when the elephant turned upon them in defence of its master, and lifting him up placed him once more on its back.

Upon this the animal was on all sides overwhelmed with darts, and when it was stabbed to death, Porus was placed upon a waggon. But the king perceiving him to lift up his eyes, forgot all animosity, and being deeply moved with pity, said to him : "What the plague ! what madness induced you to try the fortune of war with me, of whose exploits you have heard the fame, especially when in Taxiles you had a near example of my clemency to those who submit to me?" He answered thus : "Since you propose a question, I shall answer with the freedom which you grant asking it. I used to think there was no one braver than myself, for I knew my own strength, but had not yet experienced thine. The result of the war has taught me that you are the braver man, but even in ranking next to you, I consider myself to be highly fortunate". Being asked again how he thought the victor should treat him, "in accordance", he replied, "with the lesson which this day teaches—a day in which you have witnessed how readily prosperity can be blasted".

By giving this admonition he gained more than if he had resorted to entreaty, for Alexander, in consideration of the greatness of his courage which scorned all fear, and which adversity could not break down, extended pity to his misfortunes and honour to his merits. He ordered his wounds to be as carefully attended to as if he had fought in his service, and when he had recovered strength, he admitted him into the number of his friends and soon after presented him with a larger kingdom than that which he had. And in truth his nature had no more essential or more permanent quality than a high respect for true merit and renown; but he estimated more candidly and impartially glory in an enemy than in a subject. In fact, he thought that the fabric of his fame might be pulled down by his own people, while it could but receive enhanced lustre the greater those were whom he vanquished.

## NINTH BOOK

### CHAPTER I

Alexander's speech to his soldiers after the victory—  
Abisares sends him an embassy.

Alexander rejoicing in a victory so memorable, which led him to believe that the East to its utmost limits had been opened up to his arms, sacrificed to the sun, and having also summoned the soldiers to a general meeting, he praised them for their services, that they might with the greater alacrity undertake the wars that yet remained. He pointed out to them that all power of opposition on the part of the Indians had been quite overthrown in the battle just fought. What now remained for them was a noble spoil. The much-rumoured riches of the East abounded in those very regions, to which their steps were now bent. The spoils accordingly which they had taken from the Persians had now become cheap and common. They were going to fill with pearls, precious stones, gold, and ivory not only their private abodes, but all Macedonia and Greece. The soldiers who coveted money as well as glory, and who had never known his promises to fail, on hearing all this, readily placed their services at his command. He sent them away full of good hope, and ordered ships to be built in order that when he had overrun all Asia, he might be able to visit the sea which formed the boundary of the world.

In the neighbouring mountains was abundance of timber fit for building ships, and the men in hewing down the trees came upon serpents of most extraordinary size. There they also found the rhinoceros, an animal rarely met with elsewhere. This is not the name it bears among the Indians, but one given it by the Greeks, who were ignorant of the speech of the country. The king having built two cities, one on each side of the river which he had lately crossed, presented each of the generals with a crown, in addition to a thousand pieces of gold. Others also received rewards in accordance either with the place which they held in his friendship, or the value of the services which they had rendered. Abisares, who had sent envoys to Alexander before the battle with Porus had come off, now sent others to assure him that he was ready to do whatever he commanded, provided only he was not obliged to surrender his person; for he could neither

live, he said, without having the power of a king, nor have that power if he were to be kept in captivity. Alexander bade them tell their master that if he grudged to come to Alexander, Alexander would go to him.

## CHAPTER I (*Continued*)

Alexander advancing farther into the interior of India,  
passes through forests and deserts—Crosses the  
Hydraotes—Besieges and captures Sangala, and  
enters the kingdom of Sopithes, who receives  
him with great hospitality and shows  
him a dog and lion fight.

After crossing a river some distance farther on, he advanced into the interior parts of India. The forests there extended over an almost boundless tract of country, and abounded with umbrageous trees of stateliest growth, that rose to an extraordinary height. Numerous branches, which for size equalled the trunk of ordinary trees, would bend down to the earth, and then shoot straight up again at the point where they bent upward, so that they had more the appearance of a tree growing from its own root than of a bough branching out from its stem. The climate is salubrious, for the dense shade mitigates the violence of the heat, and copious springs supply the land with abundance of water. But here, also, were multitudes of serpents, the scales of which glittered like gold. The poison of these is deadlier than any other, since their bite was wont to prove instantly fatal, until a proper antidote was pointed out by the natives. From thence they passed through deserts to the river Hydraotes, the banks of which were covered with a dense forest, abounding with trees not elsewhere seen, and filled with wild peacocks. Decamping hence, he came to a town that lay not far off. This he captured by a general attack all around the walls, and having received hostages, imposed a tribute upon the inhabitants. He came next to a great city—great at least for that region—and found it not only encompassed with a wall, but further defended by a morass.

The barbarians nevertheless sallied out to give battle, taking their waggons with them, which they fastened together each to each. For weapons of offence some had pikes and others axes,

and they were in the habit of leaping nimbly from waggon to waggon if they saw their friends hard pressed and wished to help them. This mode of fighting being quite new to the Macedonians, at first alarmed them, since they were wounded by enemies beyond their reach, but coming afterwards to look with contempt upon a force so undisciplined, they completely surrounded the waggons and began stabbing all the men that offered resistance. The king then commanded the cords which fastened the waggons together to be cut that it might be easier for the soldiers to beset each waggon separately. The enemy after a loss of 8000 men withdrew into the town. Next day the walls were scaled all round and captured. A few were indebted for their safety to their swiftness of foot. Those who swam across the sheet of water when they saw the city was sacked, carried great consternation to the neighbouring towns, where they reported that an invincible army, one of gods assuredly, had arrived in the country.

Alexander having sent Perdikkas with a body of light troops to ravage the country, and given another detachment to Eumenes to be employed in bringing the barbarians to submission, marched himself with the rest of the army against a strong city within which the inhabitants of some other cities had taken refuge. The citizens sent deputies to appease the king's anger, but continued all the same to make warlike preparations. A dissension, it seems, had arisen among them and divided their counsels, some preferring to submit to the last extremities rather than surrender, others thinking that resistance on their part would be altogether futile. But as no consultation was held in common, those who were bent on surrendering threw open the gates and admitted the enemy. Alexander would have been justified in making the advocates of resistance feel his displeasure, but he nevertheless pardoned them all without exception, and after taking hostages marched forward to the next city. As the hostages were led in the van of the army, the defenders on the wall recognised them to be their own countrymen, and invited them to a conference. Here they were prevailed on to surrender, when they were informed of the king's clemency to the submissive, and his severity if opposed. In a similar way he gained over other towns, and placed them under his protection.

They entered next the dominions of King Sopithes, whose nation in the opinion of the barbarians excels in wisdom and lives under good laws and customs. Here they do not acknowledge

and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants may direct, for if they have remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they order it to be killed. In contracting marriages they do not seek an alliance with high birth, but make their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children is a quality highly appreciated.

Alexander had brought up his army before the capital of this nation where Sopithes was himself resident. The gates were shut, but as no men-at-arms showed themselves either on the walls or towers, the Macedonians were in doubt whether the inhabitants had deserted the city, or were hiding themselves to fall upon the enemy by surprise. The gate, however, was on a sudden thrown open, and the Indian king with two grown-up sons issued from it to meet Alexander. He was distinguished above all the other barbarians by his tall and handsome figure. His royal robe, which flowed down to his very feet, was all wrought with gold and purple. His sandals were of gold and studded with precious stones, and even his arms and wrists were curiously adorned with pearls. At his ears he wore pendants of precious stones which from their lustre and magnitude were of an inestimable value. His sceptre too was made of gold and set with beryls, and this he delivered up to Alexander with an expression of his wish that it might bring him good luck, and be accepted as a token that he surrendered into his hands his children and his kingdom.

His country possesses a noble breed of dogs, used for hunting, and said to refrain from barking when they sight their game which is chiefly the lion. Sopithes wishing to show Alexander the strength and mettle of these dogs, caused a very large lion to be placed within an enclosure where four dogs in all were let loose upon him. The dogs at once fastened upon the wild beast, when one of the huntsmen who was accustomed to work of this kind tried to pull away by the leg one of the dogs which with the others had seized the lion, and when the limb would not come away, cut it off with a knife. The dog could not even by this means be forced to let go his hold, and so the man proceeded to cut him in another place, and finding him still clutching the lion as tenaciously as before, he continued cutting away with his knife one part of him after another. The brave dog, however, even in dying kept his fangs fixed in the lion's flesh; so great the

eagerness for hunting which nature has implanted in these animals, as testified by the accounts transmitted to us.

I must observe, however, that I copy from preceding writers more than I myself believe, for I neither wish to guarantee statements of the truth of which I am doubtful, nor yet to suppress what I find recorded. Alexander therefore leaving Sopithes in possession of his kingdom, advanced to the river Hyphasis, where he was rejoined by Hephaestion who had subdued a district situated in a different direction. Phegelas, who was king of the nearest nation, having beforehand ordered his subjects to attend to the cultivation of their fields according to their wont, went forth to meet Alexander with presents and assurances that whatever he commanded he would not fail to perform.

## CHAPTER II

Alexander obtains information about the Ganges and the strength of the army kept by Agrammes, king of the Prasians—His speech to the soldiers to induce them to advance to the Ganges.

The king made a halt of two days with this prince, designing on the third day to cross the river, the passage of which was difficult, not only from its great breadth, but also because its channel was obstructed with rocks. Having therefore requested Phegelas to tell him what he wanted to know, he learned the following particulars :

Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the farther bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3000.

All this seemed to the king to be incredible, and he therefore asked Porus, who happened to be in attendance, whether the account was true. He assured Alexander in reply that, as far as the strength of the nation and kingdom was concerned, there was no exaggeration in the reports, but that the present

king was not merely a man originally of no distinction, but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign; and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king, who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne.

The attestation of Porus to the truth of what he had heard made the king anxious on manifold grounds; for while he thought contemptuously of the men and elephants that would oppose him, he dreaded the difficult nature of the country that lay before him, and in particular, the impetuous rapidity of the rivers. The task seemed hard indeed, to follow up and unearthen men removed almost to the uttermost bounds of the world. On the other hand, his avidity of glory and his insatiable ambition forbade him to think that any place was so far distant or inaccessible as to be beyond his reach. He did indeed sometimes doubt whether the Macedonians who had traversed all those broad lands and grown old in battlefields and camps, would be willing to follow him through obstructing rivers and the many other difficulties which nature would oppose to their advance. Overflowing and laden with booty, they would rather, he judged, enjoy what they had won than wear themselves out in getting more. They could not of course be of the same mind as himself, for while he had grasped the conception of a world-wide empire and stood as yet but on the threshold of his labours, they were now worn out with toil, and longed for the time when, all their dangers being at length ended, they might enjoy their latest winnings. In the end ambition carried the day against reason; and, having summoned a meeting of the soldiers, he addressed them very much to this effect :

“I am not ignorant, soldiers, that during these last days the natives of this country have been spreading all sorts of rumours designed expressly to work upon your fears; but the falsehood of those who invent such lies is nothing new in your experience. The Persians in this sort of way sought to terrify you with the gates

of Cilicia, with the plains of Mesopotamia, with the Tigris and Euphrates, and yet this river you crossed by a ford, and that by means of a bridge. Fame is never brought to a clearness in which facts can be seen as they are. They are all magnified when she transmits them. Even our own glory, though resting on a solid basis, is more indebted for its greatness to rumour than to reality. Who but till the other day believed that it was possible for us to bear the shock of those monstrous beasts that looked like so many ramparts, or that we could have passed the Hydaspes, or conquered other difficulties which after all were more formidable to hear of than they proved to be in actual experience. By my troth we had long ago fled from Asia could fables have been able to scare us.

"Can you suppose that the herds of elephants are greater than of other cattle when the animal is known to be rare, hard to be caught, and harder still to tame? It is the same spirit of falsehood which magnifies the number of horse and foot possessed by the enemy; and with respect to the river, why, the wider it spreads the liker it becomes to a placid pool. Rivers, as you know, that are confined between narrow banks and choked by narrow channels flow with torrent speed, while on the other hand the current slackens as the channel widens out. Besides, all the danger is at the bank where the enemy waits to receive us as we disembark; so that, be the breadth of the river what it may, the danger is all the same when we are in the act of landing. But let us suppose that these stories are all true, is it then, I ask, the monstrous size of the elephants or the number of the enemy that you dread? As for the elephants, we had an example of them before our eyes in the late battle when they charged more furiously upon their own ranks than upon ours, and when their vast bodies were cut and mangled by our bills and axes. What matters it then whether they be the same number as Porus had, or be 3000, when we see that if one or two of them be wounded, the rest swerve aside and take to flight. Then again, if it be no easy task to manage but a few of them, surely when so many thousands of them are crowded together, they cannot but hamper each other when their huge unwieldy bodies want room either to stand or run. For myself, I have such a poor opinion of the animals that, though I had them, I did not bring them into the field, being fully convinced they occasion more danger to their own side than to the enemy.



"But it is the number, perhaps, of the horse and foot that excites your fears ! for you have been wont, you know, to fight only against small numbers, and will now for the first time have to withstand undisciplined multitudes ! The river Granicus is a witness of the courage of the Macedonians unconquered in fighting against odds; so too is Cilicia deluged with the blood of the Persians, and Arbela, where the plains are strewn with the bones of your vanquished foes. It is too late, now that you have depopulated Asia by your victories, to begin counting the enemy's legions. When we were crossing the Hellespont, it was then we should have thought about the smallness of our numbers, for now Scythians follow us, Bactrian troops are here to assist us, Dahans and Sogdians are serving in our ranks. But it is not in such a throng I put my trust. It is to your hands, Macedonians, I look. It is your valour I take as the gauge and surety of the deeds I mean to perform.

"As long as it is with you I shall stand in battle, I count not the number either of my own or the enemy's army. Do ye only, I entreat, keep your minds full of alacrity and confidence. We are not standing on the threshold of our enterprise and our labours, but at their very close. We have already reached the sunrise and the ocean, and unless your sloth and cowardice prevent, we shall thence return in triumph to our native land, having conquered the earth to its remotest bounds. Act not then like foolish husbandmen who, when their crops are ripe, loose them out of hand from sheer indolence to gather them. The prizes before you are greater than the risks, for the country to be invaded not only teems with wealth, but is at the same time feebly defended. So then I lead you not so much to glory as to plunder. You have earned the right to carry back to your own country the riches which that sea casts upon its shores; and it would ill become you if through fear you should leave anything unattempted or unperformed. I conjure you then by that glory of yours whereby ye soar above the topmost pinnacle of human greatness—I beseech you by my services unto you, and yours unto me (a strife in which we still contend unconquered), that ye desert not your foster-son, your fellow soldier, not to say your king, just at the moment when he is approaching the limits of the inhabited world.

"All things else you have done at my orders—for this one thing I shall hold myself to be your debtor. I, who never

ordered you upon any service in which I did not place myself in the fore-front of the danger, I who have often with mine own buckler covered you in battle, now entreat you not to shatter the palm which is already in my grasp, and by which, if I may so speak without incurring the ill-will of heaven, I shall become the equal of Hercules and Father Bacchus. Grant this to my entreaties, and break at last your obstinate silence. Where is that familiar shout, the wonted token of your alacrity? Where are the cheerful looks of my Macedonians? I do not recognise you, soldiers, and, methinks, I seem not to be recognised by you. I have all along been knocking at deaf ears. I am trying to rouse hearts that are disloyal and crushed with craven fears".

When the soldiers, with their heads bent earthwards, still suppressed what they felt, "I must," he said, "have inadvertently given you some offence that you will not even look at me. Methinks I am in a solitude. No one answers me; no one so much as says me nay. Is it to strangers I am speaking? Am I claiming anything unreasonable? Why, it is your glory and your greatness we are asserting. Where are those whom but the other day I saw eagerly striving which should have the prerogative of receiving the person of their wounded king? I am deserted, forsaken, surrendered into the hands of the enemy. But I shall still persist in going forward, even though I should march alone. Expose me then to the dangers of rivers, to the rage of elephants, and to those nations whose very names fill you with terror. I shall find men that will follow me though I be deserted by you. The Scythians and Bactrians, once our foemen, but now our soldiers—these will still be with me. Let me tell you, I would die rather than be a commander on sufferance. Begone then to your homes, and go triumphing because ye have forsaken your king. For my part, I shall here find a place, either for the victory of which you despair or for an honourable death".

## CHAPTER III

Speech of Coenus on behalf of the army—Alexander's displeasure at the refusal of the soldiers to advance—  
He resolves to return—Raises altars as memorials  
of his presence—Reaches the Acesines, where  
Coenus dies—reconciles Taxiles and Porus,  
and then sails down stream.

But not even by this appeal could a single word be elicited from any of the soldiers. They waited for the generals and chief captains to report to the king that the men, exhausted with their wounds and incessant labours in the field, did not refuse the duties of war, but were simply unable to discharge them. The officers, however, paralysed with terror, kept their eyes steadfastly fixed on the ground and remained silent. Then there arose, no one knew how, first a sighing and then a sobbing, until, little by little, their grief began to vent itself more freely in streaming tears, so that even the king, whose anger had been turned into pity, could not himself refrain from tears, anxious though he was to suppress them. At last, when the whole assembly had abandoned itself to an unrestrained passion of weeping, Coenus, on finding that the others were reluctant to open their lips, made bold to step forward to the tribunal where the king stood, and signified that he had somewhat to say. When the soldiers saw him removing his helmet from his head—a custom observed in addressing the king—they earnestly besought him that he would plead the cause of the army.

"May the gods", he then said, "defend us from all disloyal thoughts; and assuredly they do thus defend us. Your soldiers are now of the same mind towards you as they ever were in times past, being ready to go wherever you order them, ready to fight your battles, to risk their lives, and to give your name in keeping to after ages. So then, if you still persist in your purpose, all unarmed, naked and bloodless though we be, we either follow you, or go on before you, according to your pleasure. But if you desire to hear the complaints of your soldiers, which are not feigned, but wrung from them by the sorest necessity, vouchsafe, I entreat you, a favourable hearing to men who have most devotedly followed your authority and your fortunes, and are ready to follow you wherever you may go. Oh, sir! you have

conquered, by the greatness of your deeds, not your enemies alone, but your own soldiers as well.

“We again have done and suffered up to the full measure of the capacity of mortal nature. We have traversed seas and lands, and know them better than do the inhabitants themselves. We are standing now almost on the earth’s utmost verge, and yet you are preparing to go to a sphere altogether new—to go in quest of an India unknown even to the Indians themselves. You would fain root out from their hidden recesses and dens a race of men that herd with snakes and wild beasts, so that you may traverse as a conqueror more regions than the sun surveys. The thought is altogether worthy of a soul so lofty as thine, but it is above ours; for while thy courage will be ever growing, our vigour is fast waning to its end.

“See how bloodless be our bodies, pierced with how many wounds, and gashed with how many scars! Our weapons are now blunt, our armour quite worn out. We have been driven to assume the Persian garb since that of our own country cannot be brought up to supply us. We have degenerated so far as to adopt a foreign costume. Among how many of us is there to be found a single coat of mail? Which of us has a horse? Cause it to be inquired how many have servants to follow them, how much of his booty each one has now left. We have conquered all the world, but are ourselves destitute of all things. Can you think of exposing such a noble army as this, all naked and defenceless, to the mercy of savage beasts, whose numbers, though purposely exaggerated by the barbarians, must yet, as I can gather from the lying report itself, be very considerable. If, however, you are bent on penetrating still farther into India, that part of it which lies towards the south is not so vast, and were this subdued you could then quickly find your way to that sea which nature has ordained to be the boundary of the inhabited world. Why do you make a long circuit in pursuit of glory when it is placed immediately within your reach, for even here the ocean is to be found. Unless, then, you wish to go wandering about, we have already reached the goal unto which your fortune leads you. I have preferred to speak on these matters in your presence, O King! rather than to discuss them with the soldiers in your absence, not that I have in view to gain thereby for myself the good graces of the army here assembled, but that you might learn their sentiments from my lips rather than be obliged to

hear their murmurs and their groans.”

When Coenus had made an end of speaking there arose from all parts of the audience assenting shouts, mingled with lamentations and confused voices, calling Alexander king, father, lord and master. And now also the other officers, especially the seniors, who from their age possessed all the greater authority, and could with a better grace beg to be excused from any more service, united in making the same request. Alexander therefore found himself unable either to rebuke them for their stubbornness or to appease their angry mood. Being thus quite at a loss what to do, he leaped down from the tribunal and shut himself up in the royal pavilion, into which he forbade any one to be admitted except his ordinary attendants. For two days he indulged his anger, but on the third day he emerged from his seclusion, and ordered twelve altars of square stone to be erected as a monument of his expedition. He ordered also the fortifications around the camp to be drawn out wide, and couches of a larger size than was required for men of ordinary stature to be left, so that by making things appear in magnificent proportions he might astonish posterity by deceptive wonders.

From this place he marched back the way he had come, and encamped near the river Acesines. There Coenus caught an illness, which carried him off. The king was doubtless deeply grieved by his death, but yet he could not forbear remarking that it was but for the sake of a few days he had opened a long-winded speech as though he alone were destined to see Macedonia again. The fleet which he had ordered to be built was now riding in the stream ready for service. Memnon also had meanwhile brought from Thrace a reinforcement of 5000 cavalry, together with 7000 infantry sent by Harpalus. He also brought 25,000 suits of armour inlaid with silver and gold, and these Alexander distributed to the troops, commanding the old suits to be burned. Designing now to make for the ocean with a thousand ships, he left Porus and Taxiles, the Indian kings who had been disagreeing and raking up old feuds, in friendly relations with each other, strengthened by a marriage alliance; and as they had done their utmost to help him forward with the building of his fleet, he confirmed each in his sovereignty. He built also two towns, one of which he called Nicaea, and the other Bucephala, dedicating the latter to the memory of the horse which he had lost. Then leaving orders for the elephants and baggage to follow him by

land, he sailed down the river, proceeding every day about 40 stadia, to allow the troops to land from time to time where they could conveniently be put ashore.

## CHAPTER IV

Alexander subdues various tribes on his way to the Indus—Disasters to his fleet at the meeting of the rivers—His campaign against the Sudracae and Malli—Assails their chief stronghold and is left standing alone on the wall.

Thus he came at length into the country where the river Hydaspes falls into the Acesines, and thence flows down to the territories of the Sibi. These people allege that their ancestors belonged to the army of Hercules, and that being left behind on account of sickness had possessed themselves of the seats which their posterity now occupied. They dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons. They showed besides many other traces of their origin, though in the course of time Greek manners and institutions had grown obsolete. He landed among them, and marching a distance of 250 stadia into the country beyond their borders, laid it waste, and took its capital town by an assault made against the walls all round. The nation consisting of 40,000 foot soldiers, had been drawn up along the bank of the river to oppose his landing, but he nevertheless crossed the stream, put the enemy to flight, and, having stormed the town, compelled all who were shut up within its walls to surrender. Those who were of military age were put to the sword, and the rest were sold as slaves.

He then laid siege to another town, but the defenders made so gallant a resistance that he was repulsed with the loss of many of his Macedonians. He persevered, however, with the siege till the inhabitants, despairing of their safety, set fire to their houses, and cast themselves along with their wives and children into the flames. War then showed itself in a new form, for while the inhabitants were destroying their city by spreading the flames, the enemy were striving to save it by quenching them, so completely does war invert natural relations. The citadel of the town had escaped damage, and Alexander accordingly left a

garrison behind in it. He was himself conveyed by means of boats around the fortress, for the three largest rivers in India (if we except the Ganges) washed the line of its fortifications. The Indus on the north flows close up to it, and on the south the Acesines unites with the Hydaspes.

But the meeting of the rivers makes the waters swell in great billows like those of the ocean, and the navigable way is compressed into a narrow channel by extensive mud-banks kept continually shifting by the force of the confluent waters. When the waves, therefore, in thick succession dashed against the vessels, beating both on their prows and sides, the sailors were obliged to take in sail; but partly from their own flurry, and partly from the force of the currents, they were unable to execute their orders in time, and before the eyes of all two of the large ships were engulfed in the stream. The smaller craft, however, though they also were unmanageable, were driven on shore without sustaining injury. The ship which had the king himself on board was caught in eddies of the greatest violence, and by their force was irresistibly driven athwart and whirled onward without answering the helm.

He had already stripped off his clothes preparatory to throwing himself into the river, while his friends were swimming about not far off ready to pick him up, but as it was evident that the danger was about equal whether he threw himself into the water or remained on board, the boatmen vied with each other in stretching to their oars, and made every exertion possible for human beings to force their vessel through the raging surges. It then seemed as though the waves were being cloven asunder, and as though the whirling eddies were retreating, and the ship was thus at length rescued from their grasp. It did not, however, gain the shore in safety, but was stranded on the nearest shallows. One would suppose that a war had been waged against the river. Alexander there erected as many altars as there were rivers, and having offered sacrifices upon them marched onward, accomplishing a distance of thirty stadia.

Thence he came into the dominions of the Sudracae and the Malli, who hitherto had usually been at war with each other, but now drew together in presence of the common danger. Their army consisted of 90,000 foot-soldiers, all fit for active service, together with 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots. But when the Macedonians, who believed that they had by this time got

past all their dangers, found that they had still on hand a fresh, war, in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition. "Though he had been driven", they said, "to give up the river Ganges and regions beyond it, he had not ended the war, but only shifted it. They were now exposed to fierce nations that with their blood they might open for him a way to the ocean. They were dragged onward outside the range of the constellations and the sun of their own zone, and forced to go to places which nature meant to be hidden from mortal eyes. New enemies were for ever springing up with arms ever new, and though they put them all to rout and flight, what reward awaited them? What but mists and darkness and unbroken night hovering over the abyss of ocean? What but a sea teeming with multitudes of frightful monsters—stagnating waters in which expiring nature has given way in despair?

The king, troubled not by any fears for himself, but by the anxiety of the soldiers about their safety, called them together, and pointed out to them that those of whom they were afraid were weak and unwarlike; that after the conquest of these tribes there was nothing in their way, once they had traversed the distance now between them and the ocean, to prevent their coming to the end of the world, which would be also the end of their labours; that he had given way to their fears of the Ganges and of the numerous tribes beyond that river, and turned his arms to a quarter where the glory would be equal but the hazard less; that they were already in sight of the ocean, and were already fanned by breezes from the sea. They should not then grudge him the glory to which he aspired. They would overpass the limits reached by Hercules and Father Bacchus, and thus at a small cost bestow upon their king an immortality of fame. They should permit him to return from India with honour, and not to escape from it like a fugitive.

Every assemblage, and especially one of soldiers, is readily carried away by any chance impulse, and hence the measures for quelling a mutiny are less important than the circumstances in which it originates. Never before did so eager and joyous a shout ring out as was now sent forth by the army asking him to lead them forward, and expressing the hope that the gods would prosper his arms and make him equal in glory to those whom he was



**emulating.** Alexander, elated by these acclamations, at once broke up his camp and advanced against the enemy, which was the strongest in point of numbers of all the Indian tribes. They were making active preparations for war, and had selected as their head a brave warrior of the nation of the Sudracae. This experienced general had encamped at the foot of a mountain, and had ordered fires to be kindled over a wide circuit to make his army appear so much the more numerous. He endeavoured also at times, but in vain, to alarm the Macedonians when at rest by making his men shout and howl in their own barbarous manner.

As soon as day dawned, the king, full of hope and confidence, ordered his soldiers, who were eager for action, to take their arms and march to battle. The barbarians, however, fled all of a sudden, but whether through fear or dissensions that had arisen among them, there is no record to show. At any rate, they escaped timely to their mountain recesses, which were difficult of approach. The king pursued the fugitives, but to no purpose; however, he took their baggage.

Thence he came into the city of the Sudracae, into which most of the enemy had fled, trusting for safety as much to their arms as to the strength of the fortifications. The king was now advancing to attack the place, when a soothsayer warned him not to undertake the siege, or at all events to postpone it, since the omens indicated that his life would be in danger. The king fixing his eyes upon Demophon (for this was the name of the soothsayer,) said: "if any one should in this manner interrupt thyself, while busied with thine art and inspecting entrails, wouldst thou not regard him as impertinent and troublesome?" "I certainly would so regard him", said Demophon. Then rejoined Alexander, "Dost thou not think then that when I am occupied with such important matters, and not with the inspection of the entrails of cattle, there can be any interruption more unseasonable to me than a soothsayer enslaved by superstition?" Without more loss of time than was required for returning the answer, he ordered the scaling ladders to be applied to the wall, and while the others were hesitating to mount them, he himself scaled the ramparts.

The parapet which ran round the rampart was narrow, and was not marked out along the coping with battlements and embrasures, but was built in an unbrokeen line of breastwork, which obstructed assailants in attempting to get over. The king then was clinging to the edge of the parapet, rather than standing upon

it, warding off with his shield the darts that fell upon him from every side, for he was assailed by missiles from all the surrounding towers. Nor were the soldiers able to mount the wall under the storm of arrows discharged against them from above. Still at last a sense of shame overcame their fear of the greatness of the danger, for they saw that by their hesitation the king would fall into the hands of his enemies. But their help was delayed by their hurry, for while every one strove to get soonest to the top of the wall, they were precipitated from the ladders which they overloaded till they broke, thus balking the king of his only hope. He was in consequence left standing in sight of his numerous army, like a man in a solitude, whom all the world has forsaken.

## CHAPTER V

Alexander is severely wounded by an arrow within  
the stronghold of the Sudracae—The  
arrow is extracted by Critobulus.

By this time his left hand, with which he was shifting his buckler about, became tired with parrying the blows directed against him from all round, and his friends cried out to him that he should leap down, and were standing ready to catch him when he fell. But instead of taking this course, he did an act of daring past all belief and unheard of—an act notable as adding far more to his reputation for rashness than to his true glory. For with a headlong spring he flung himself into the city filled with his enemies, even though he could scarcely expect to die fighting, since before he could rise from the ground he was likely to be overpowered and taken prisoner. But, as luck would have it, he had flung his body with such nice poise that he alighted on his feet, which gave him the advantage of an erect attitude when he began fighting. Fortune had also so provided that he could not possibly be surrounded, for an aged tree which grew not far from the wall, had thrown out branches thickly covered with leaves, as if for the very purpose of sheltering the king. Against the huge bole of this tree he so planted himself that he could not be surrounded, and as he was thus protected in rear, he received on his buckler the darts with which he was assailed in front; for single-handed though he was, not one of the many who set upon him ventured to come

to close quarters with him, and their missiles lodged more frequently in the branches of the tree than in his buckler.

What served him well at this juncture was the farspread renown of his name, and next to that, despair, which above everything nerves men to die gloriously. But as the numbers of the enemy were constantly increasing, his buckler was by this time loaded with darts, and his helmet shattered by stones, while his knees sank under him from the fatigue of his protracted exertions. On seeing this, they who stood nearest incautiously rushed upon him in contempt of the danger. Two of these he smote with his sword, and laid them dead at his feet, and after that no one could muster up courage enough to go near him. They only piled him with darts and arrows from a distance off.

But though thus exposed as a mark for every shot, he had no great difficulty in protecting himself while crouching on his knees, until an Indian let fly an arrow two cubits long (for the Indians, as remarked already, use arrows of this length), and pierced him through his armour a little above his right side. Struck down by this wound, from which the blood spirted in great jets, he let his weapon drop as if he were dying without strength enough left to let his right hand extract the arrow. The archer, accordingly, who had wounded him, exulting in his success, ran forward with eager haste to strip his body. But Alexander no sooner felt him lay hands on his person, than he became so exasperated by the supreme indignity, I imagine, of the outrage, that he recalled his swooning spirit, and with an upward thrust of his sword pierced the exposed side of his antagonist. Thus there lay dead around the king three of his assailants, while the others stood off like men stupefied.

Meanwhile he endeavoured to raise himself up with his buckler, that he might die sword in hand, before his last breath left him, but finding he had not strength enough for the effort, he grasped with his right hand some of the defending boughs, and tried to rise with their help. His strength was, however, inadequate even to support his body and he fell down again upon his knees, waving his hand as a challenge to the enemy to meet him in close combat if any of them dared. At length Peucestas in a different quarter of the town beat off the men who were defending the wall, and following the king's traces came to where he was. Alexander on seeing him thought that he had come not to succour him in life, but to comfort him in his death, and giving

way through sheer exhaustion, fell over on his shield.

Then came up Timaeus, and a little afterwards Leonnatus followed by Aristonus. The Indians, on discovering that the king was within their walls, abandoned all other places and ran in crowds to where he was, and pressed hard upon those who defended him. Timaeus, one of such, after receiving many wounds and making a gallant struggle, fell. Peucestas again, though pierced with three javelin wounds, held up his buckler not for his own, but the king's protection. Leonnatus, while endeavouring to drive back the barbarians who were eagerly pressing forward, was severely wounded in the neck, and fell down in a swoon at the king's feet. Peucestas was also now quite exhausted with the loss of blood from his wounds and could no longer hold up his buckler. Thus all the hope now lay in Aristonus, but he also was desperately wounded, and could no longer sustain the onset of so many assailants. In the meantime the rumour that the king had fallen reached the Macedonians.

What would have terrified others only served to stimulate their ardour, for, heedless of every danger, they broke down the wall with their pickaxes, and where they had made an entrance burst into the city and massacred great numbers of the Indians, chiefly in the pursuit, no resistance being offered except by a mere handful. They spared neither old men, women, nor children, but held whomsoever they met to have been the person by whom the king had been wounded, and in this way they at length satiated their righteous indignation.

Clitarchus and Timagenes state that Ptolemy, who afterwards became a king, was present at this fighting, but Ptolemy himself, who would not of course gainsay his own glory, has recorded in his memoirs that he was away at the time as the king had sent him on an expedition elsewhere. This instance shows how great was the carelessness of the authors who composed these old books of history, or, it may be, their credulity, which is just as great a dereliction of their duty. The king was carried into a tent, where the surgeons cut off the wooden shaft of the arrow which had pierced him, taking care not to stir its point. When his armour was taken off they discovered that the weapon was barbed, and that it could not be extracted without danger except by making an incision to open the wound. But here again they were afraid lest in operating they should be unable to staunch the flow of blood, for the weapon was large and had been driven home with

such force that it had evidently pierced to the inwards.

Critobulus, who was famous for his surgical skill, was nevertheless swayed by fear in a case so precarious, and dreaded to put his hand to the work lest his failure to effect a cure should recoil on his own head. The king observing him to weep, and to be showing signs of fear, and looking ghastly pale, said to him: "For what and how long are you waiting that you do not set to work as quickly as possible? If die I must, free me at least from the pain I suffer. Are you afraid lest you should be held to account because I have received an incurable wound?" Then Critobulus, at last overcoming, or perhaps dissembling his fear, begged Alexander to suffer himself to be held while he was extracting the point, since even a slight motion of his body would be of dangerous consequence. To this the king replied that there was no need of men to hold him, and then, agreeably to what had been enjoined him, he did not wince the least during the operation.

When the wound had then been laid wide open and the point extracted, there followed such a copious discharge of blood that the king began to swoon, while a dark mist came over his eyes, and he lay extended as if he were dying. Every remedy was applied to staunch the blood, but all to no purpose, so that the king's friends, believing him to be dead, broke out into cries and lamentations. The bleeding did, however, at last stop, and the patient gradually recovered consciousness and began to recognise those who stood around him. All that day and the night which followed, the army lay under arms around the royal tent. All of them confessed that their life depended on his single breath, and they could not be prevailed on to withdraw until they had ascertained that he had fallen into a quiet sleep. Thereupon they returned to the camp entertaining more assured hopes of his recovery.

## CHAPTER VI

Alexander recovers and shows himself to the army—His officers remonstrate with him for his recklessness in exposing his life to danger—His reply to their appeal.

The king, who had now been kept for the space of seven days under treatment for his wound without its being as yet cicatrised, on hearing that a report of his death had gained a wide currency among the barbarians, caused two ships to be lashed together

and his tent to be set up in the centre where it would be conspicuous to every one, so that he might therefrom show himself to those who believed him to be dead. By thus exposing himself to the view of the inhabitants he crushed the hope with which the false report had inspired his enemies. He then sailed down the river, starting a good while before the rest of the fleet, lest the repose which his weak bodily condition still required should be disturbed by the noise of rowing. On the fourth day after he had embarked he reached a country deserted by its inhabitants, but fruitful in corn and well stocked with cattle. Here along with his soldiers he enjoyed a welcome season of rest.

Now it was a custom among the Macedonians that the king's especial friends and those who had the guard of his person watched before his tent during any occasional illness. This custom being now observed as usual, they all entered his chamber in a body. Alexander fearing they might be the bearers of some bad news, since they had all come together, enquired whether they had come to inform him that the enemy had that moment arrived. Then Craterus, who had been chosen by the others as their medium to let the king know the entreaties of his friends, addressed him in these terms: "Can you imagine", he began, "that we could be more alarmed by the enemy's approach, even if they were already within our lines, than we are concerned for your personal safety, by which, it seems, you set but little store? Were the united powers of the whole world to conspire against us, were they to cover the land all over with arms and men, to cover the seas with fleets, and lead ferocious wild beasts against us, we shall prove invincible to every foe when we have you to lead us. But which of the gods can ensure that this the stay and star of Macedonia will be long preserved to us when you are so forward to expose your person to manifest dangers, forgetting that you draw into peril the lives of so many of your countrymen? For which of us wishes to survive you, or even has it within his power? Under your conduct and command we have advanced so far that there is no one but yourself who can lead us back to our hearths and homes.

"No doubt while you were still contending with Darius for the sovereignty of Persia, one could not even think it strange (though no one wished it) that you were ever ready and eager to rush boldly into danger, for where the risk and the reward are fairly balanced, the gain is not only more ample in case of success,

but the solace is greater in case of defeat. But that your very life should be paid as the price of an obscure village, which of your soldiers, nay, what inhabitant of any barbarous country that has heard of your greatness can tolerate such an idea? My soul is struck with horror when I think of the scene which was lately presented to our eyes.

"I cannot but tremble to relate that the hands of the greatest dastards would have polluted the spoils stripped from the invincible Alexander, had not fortune, looking with pity on us, interfered for your deliverance. We are no better than traitors, no better than deserters, all of us who were unable to keep up with you when you ran into danger; and should you therefore brand us all with dishonour, none of us will refuse to give satisfaction for that from the guilt of which he could not secure himself. Show us, we beseech you then, in some other way, how cheap you hold us. We are ready to go wherever you order. We solicit that for us you reserve obscure and inglorious battles, while you save yourself for those occasions which give scope for your greatness. Glory won in a contest with inferior opponents soon becomes stale, and nothing can be more absurd than to let your valour be wasted where it cannot be displayed to view".

Ptolemy and others who were present addressed him in the same or similar terms, and all of them, as one man, besought him with tears that, seated as he was with glory, he would at last set some limits to that passion and have more regard for his own safety, on which that of the public depended. The affection and loyalty of his friends were so gratifying to the king that he embraced them one by one with more than his usual warmth, and requested them all to be seated.

Then, in addressing them, he went far back in a review of his career and said: "I return you, most faithful and most dutiful subjects and friends, my most heartfelt thanks, not only because you at this time prefer my safety to your own, but also because from the very outset of the war you have lost no opportunity of showing by every pledge and token your kindly feelings towards myself, so that I must confess my life has never been so dear to me as it is at present, and chiefly so, that I may long enjoy your companionship. At the same time, I must point out that those who are willing to lay down their lives for me do not look at the matter from my point of view, inasmuch as I judge myself to have deserved by my bravery your favourable inclinations towards

me, for you may possibly be coveting to reap the fruit of my favour for a great length of time, perhaps even in perpetuity, but I measure myself not by the span of age, but by that of glory.

"Had I been contented with my paternal heritage, I might have spent my days within the bounds of Macedonia, in slothful ease, to an obscure and inglorious old age; although even those who remain indolently at home are not masters of their own destiny, for while they consider a long life to be the supreme good, an untimely death often takes them by surprise. I, however, who do not count my years but by my victories, have already had a long career of life, if I reckon aright the gifts of fortune. Having begun to reign in Macedonia, I now hold the supremacy of Greece. I have subdued Thrace and the people of Illyria; I give laws to the Triballi and the Maedi, and am master of Asia from the shores of Hellespont as far south as the shores of the Indian Ocean. And now I am not far from the very ends of the earth, which when I have passed I purpose to open up to myself a new realm of nature—a new world. In the turning-point of a single hour I crossed over from Asia into the borders of Europe."<sup>1</sup> Having conquered both these continents in the ninth year of my reign, and in my twenty-eighth year, do you think I can pause in the task of completing my glory, to which, and to which only, I have entirely devoted myself? No, I shall not fail in my duty to her, and wheresoever I shall be fighting I shall imagine myself on the world's theatre, with all mankind for spectators. I shall give celebrity to places before unnoted. I shall open up for all nations a way to regions which nature has hitherto kept far distant.

"If fortune shall so direct that in the midst of these enterprises my life be cut short, that would only add to my renown. I am sprung from such a stock that I am bound to prefer living much to living long. Reflect, I pray you, that we have come to lands in the eyes of which the name of a woman is the most famed for valour. What cities did Semiramis build! What nations did she bring to subjection! What mighty works did she plan! We have not yet equalled the glorious achievements of a woman, and have we already had our fill of glory? No, I say. Let the gods, however, but favour us, and things still greater remain for us yet to do. But the countries we have not yet reached shall only become ours on condition that we consider nothing little in which there is room for great glory to be won. Do you but defend me against domestic treason and the plots of my own household,<sup>2</sup>



and I will fearlessly face the dangers of battle and war.

"Philip was safer in the field of fight than in the theatre. He often escaped the hands of his enemies—he could not elude those of his subjects. And if you examine how other kings also came by their end, you can count more that were slain by their own people than by their enemies. But now lastly, since an opportunity has presented itself to me of disclosing a matter which I have for a long time been turning over and over in my mind, I give you to understand that to me the greatest rewards of all my toils and achievements will be this, that my mother Olympias shall be deified as soon as she departs this life. If I be spared, I shall myself discharge that duty, but if death anticipate me, bear in memory that I have entrusted this office to you". With these words he dismissed his friends; but for a good many days he remained in the same encampment.

## CHAPTER VII

The affair of Biton and Boxus at Bactra—Embassy from the Sudracae and Malli proffering submission—Alexander entertains his army and the embassy at a sumptuous banquet—Single combat between a Macedonian and an Athenian champion.

While these things were doing in India, the Greek soldiers who had been recently drafted by the king into settlements around Bactra disagreed among themselves and revolted, for the stronger faction, having killed some of their countrymen who remained loyal, had recourse to arms, and making themselves masters of the citadel of Bactra, which happened to be carelessly guarded, forced even the barbarians to join their party. Their leader was Athenodorus, who had also assumed the title of king, not so much from an ambition to reign as from a wish to return to his native country along with those who acknowledged his authority. Against his life one Biton, a citizen of the same Greek state as himself, but who hated him from envy, laid a plot, and having invited him to a banquet, had him assassinated during the festivities by the hands of a native of Margiana called Boxus. The day following, Biton, in a general meeting which had been convoked, persuaded the majority that Athenodorus had without any provocation formed

a plot to take away his life. Others, however, suspected there had been foul play on Biton's part, and by degrees this suspicion spread itself about among the rest. The Greek soldiers, therefore, took up arms to put Biton to death should an opportunity present itself.

But the leading men appeased the anger of the multitude, and Biton being thus freed from his imminent danger, contrary to what he had anticipated, soon afterwards conspired against the very man to whom he owed his safety. But when his treachery came to their knowledge they seized both Biton himself and Boxus. The latter they ordered to be at once put to death, but Biton not till after he had undergone torture. The instruments for this purpose were already being applied to his limbs when the soldiers, it is not known why, ran to their arms like so many madmen. On hearing the uproar they made, the men who had orders to torture Biton desisted from their office, thinking that the object of the rioters, whom they had heard shouting, was to prevent them going on with their work. Biton, stripped as he was, ran for protection to the Greeks, and the sight of the wretched man sentenced to death caused such a revulsion of their feelings that they ordered him to be set at liberty. Having twice escaped punishment, he returned to his native country with the rest of those who left the colonies which the king had assigned to them. These things were done about Bactra and the borders of Scythia.

In the meantime a hundred ambassadors came to the king from the two nations we have before mentioned. They all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen and embroidered with inwrought gold and purple. They informed him that they surrendered into his hands themselves, their cities, and their territories, and that he was the first to whose authority and protection they had intrusted their liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate. The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear, seeing that they had submitted to his yoke while their strength was quite unbroken. The king at a meeting of his council accepted their proffer of submission and allegiance, and imposed on them the tribute which the two nations paid in instalments to the Arachosians. He further ordered them to furnish him with 2500 horsemen, all which commands were faithfully carried out by the barbarians. After this he gave orders for the preparation of a splendid banquet to which he invited the

ambassadors and the petty kings of the neighbouring tribes. Here a hundred couches of gold had been placed at a small distance from each other, and these were hung round with tapestry curtains which glittered with gold and purple. In a word he displayed at this entertainment all that was corrupt in the ancient luxury of the Persians as well as in the new-fangled fashions which had been adopted by the Macedonians, thus intermixing the vices of both nations.

At this banquet there was present Dioxippus the Athenian, a famous boxer, who on account of his surprising strength was already well known to the king, and one even of his favourites. Some there were who from envy and malice used to carp at him between jest and earnest, remarking they had a full-fed good-for-nothing beast in their company, who when others went forth to fight would rub himself with oil and take exercise to get up his appetite. Now at the banquet a Macedonian called Horratus, who was by this time "flown with wine", began to taunt him in the usual style, and challenged him, if he were man, to fight him next day with his sword, after which the king would judge of his temerity or of the cowardice of Dioxippus. The terms of the challenge were accepted by Dioxippus, who treated with contempt the bravado of the insolent soldier. The king finding next day that the two men were more than ever bent on fighting, and that he could not dissuade them, allowed them to do as they pleased. The soldiers came in crowds to witness the affair, and among others, Greeks who backed up Dioxippus.

The Macedonian came with the proper arms, carrying in his left hand a brazen shield and the long spear called the *sarissa*, and in his right a javelin. He wore also a sword by his side as if he meant to fight with several opponents at once. Dioxippus again entered the ring shining with oil, wearing a garland about his brows, having a scarlet cloak wrapped about his left arm and carrying in his right hand a stout knotty club. This singular mode of equipment kept all the spectators for a time in suspense, because it seemed not temerity but downright madness for a naked man to engage with one armed to the teeth. The Macedonian accordingly, not doubting for a moment but that he could kill his adversary from a distance, cast his javelin at him, but this Dioxippus avoided by a slight bending of his body, and before the other could shift the long pike to his right hand, sprang upon him and broke the weapon in two by a stroke of his club. The

Macedonian, having thus lost two of his weapons, prepared to draw his sword, but Dioxippus closed with him before he was ready to wield it, and suddenly tripping up his heels, knocked him down as with a blow from a battering-ram. He then wrested his sword from his grasp, planted his foot on his neck as he lay prostrate, and brandishing his club would have brained him with it had he not been prevented by the king.

The result of the match was mortifying not only to the Macedonians, but even to Alexander himself, for he saw with vexation that the vaunted bravery of the Macedonians had fallen into contempt with the barbarians who attended the spectacle. This made the king lend his ear all too readily to the accusations of those who owed Dioxippus a grudge. So, at a feast which he attended a few days afterwards, a golden bowl was by a private arrangement secretly taken off the table, and the attendants went to the king to complain of the loss of the article which they themselves had hidden. It often enough happens that one who blushes at a false insinuation has less control of his countenance than one who is really guilty. Dioxippus could not bear the glances which were turned upon him as if he were the thief, and so when he had left the banquet he wrote a letter which he addressed to the king, and then killed himself with his sword. The king took his death much to heart, judging that the man had killed himself from sheer indignation, and not from remorse of conscience, especially since the intemperate joy of his enemies made it clear that he had been falsely accused.

## CHAPTER VIII

Alexander receives the submission of the Malli—Invades the Musicani and the Praesti, whose king Porticanus is slain—He next attacks King Sambus, many of whose cities surrendered—Musicanus having revolted is captured and executed—Ptolemy is wounded by a poisoned arrow in the kingdom of Sambus, but recovers—Alexander reaches Patala and sails down the Indus.

The Indian ambassadors were dismissed to their several homes, but in a few days they returned with presents for Alexander which consisted of 300 horsemen, 1030 chariots each drawn by four horses, 1000 Indian bucklers, a great quantity of linen-cloth,

100 talents of steel, some tame lions and tigers of extraordinary size, the skins also of very large lizards, and a quantity of tortoise shells. The king commanding Craterus to move forward in advance with his troops and to keep always near the river, down which he intended himself to sail, took ship along with his usual retinue, and dropping down stream came to the territories of the Malli. Thence he marched towards the Sabarcae, a powerful Indian tribe where the form of government was democratic and not regal. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot and 6000 cavalry attended by 500 chariots.

They had elected three generals renowned for their valour and military skill; but when those who lived near the river, the banks of which were most thickly studded with their villages, saw the whole river as far as the eye could reach covered with ships, and saw besides the many thousands of men and their gleaming arms, they took fright at the strange spectacle and imagined that an army of the gods and a second Father Bacchus, a name famous in that country, were coming into their midst. The shouts of the soldiers and the noise of the oars, together with the confused voices of the sailors encouraging each other, so filled their alarmed ears that they all ran off to the army and cried out to the soldiers that they would be mad to offer battle to the gods, that the number of ships carrying these invincible warriors was past all counting. By these reports they created such a terror in the ranks of their own army that they sent ambassadors commissioned to surrender their whole nation to Alexander.

Having received their submission, he came on the fourth day after to other tribes which had as little inclination for fighting as their neighbours. Here therefore he built a town, which by his orders was called Alexandria, and then he entered the country of the people known as the Musicani. While he was here he held an enquiry into the complaints advanced by the Parapamisadae against Terioltes, whom he had made their satrap, and, finding many charges of extortion and tyranny proved against him, he sentenced him to death. On the other hand Oxyartes, the governor of the Bactriani, was not only acquitted, but, as he had claims upon Alexander's affections, was rewarded with an extension of the territory under his jurisdiction. Having thereafter reduced the Musicani, Alexander put a garrison into their capital and marched thence into the country of the Praesti, another Indian tribe. Their king was Porticanus, and he with a great body of his countrymen

had shut himself up within a strongly fortified city. Alexander however, took it after a three days' siege. Porticanus, who had taken refuge within the citadel after the capture of the city, sent deputies to the king to arrange about terms of capitulation. Before they reached him, however, two towers had fallen down with a dreadful crash, and the Macedonians having made their way through the ruins into the citadel, captured it and slew Porticanus, who with a few others had offered resistance.

Having demolished the citadel and sold all the prisoners, he marched into the territories of King Sambus, where he received the submission of numerous towns. The strongest, however, of all the cities which belonged to the people, he took by making a passage into it underground. To the barbarians, who had no previous knowledge of this device for entering fortified places, it seemed as if a miracle had been wrought when they saw armed men rise out of the ground in the middle of their city almost without any trace of the mine by which they had entered being visible. Clitarchus says that 80,000 Indians were slain in that part of the country, and that numerous prisoners were sold as slaves. The Musicani again rebelled, and Pithon being sent to crush them, brought the chief of the tribe, who was also the author of the insurrection, to the king, who ordered him to be crucified, and then returned to the river, where the fleet was waiting for him.

The fourth day thereafter he sailed down the river to a town that lay at the very extremity of the kingdom of Sambus. That prince had but lately surrendered himself to Alexander, but the people of the city refused to obey him, and had even closed their gates against him. The king, however, despising the paucity of their numbers, ordered 500 Agrianians to go close up to the walls and then to retire by little, in order to entice the enemy from the town, who would in that case certainly pursue under the belief that they were retreating. The Agrianians, after some skirmishing, suddenly showed their backs to the enemy as they had been ordered, and were hotly pursued by the barbarians, who fell in with other troops led by the king in person. The fighting was therefore renewed, with the result that out of the 3,000 barbarians who were in the action, 600 were killed, 1,000 taken prisoners, and the rest driven back into the city. But this victory did not end so happily as at first sight it promised to do, for the barbarians had used poisoned swords, and the wounded soon afterwards died; while the surgeons were at a loss to discover why a slight

wound should be incurable, and followed by so violent a death. The barbarians had been in hopes that the king, who was known to be rash and reckless of his safety, might be in this way cut off, and in fact it was only by sheer good luck that he escaped untouched, fighting as he did among the very foremost.

Ptolemy was wounded in the left shoulder, slightly indeed, but yet dangerously on account of the poison, and his case caused the king especial anxiety. He was his own kinsman; some even believed that Philip was his father, and it is at all events certain that he was the son of one of that king's mistresses. He was a member of the royal body-guard, and the bravest of soldiers. At the same time, he was even greater and more illustrious in civil pursuits than in war itself. He lived in a plain style like men of common rank, was liberal in the extreme, easy too of access, and a man who gave himself none of the high airs so often assumed by courtiers. These qualities made it doubtful whether he was more loved by the king or by his countrymen. At all events, now that his life was in danger he was for the first time made aware of the great affection entertained for him by the Macedonians, who by this time seem to have presaged the greatness to which he afterwards rose, for they showed as much solicitude for him as they did for Alexander himself. Alexander, again, though fatigued with fighting and anxiety, sat watching over Ptolemy, and when he wished to take some rest, did not leave the sick-room, but had his bed brought into it.

He had no sooner laid himself down than he fell into a profound sleep, from which, when he awoke, he told his attendants that in a vision he had seen a creature in the form of a serpent carrying in its mouth a plant, which it offered him as an antidote to the poison. He gave besides such a description of the colour of the plant as he was sure would enable any one falling in with it to recognise it. The plant was found soon afterwards, as many had gone to search for it, and was laid upon the wound by Alexander himself. The application at once removed the pain and speedily cicatrised the wound. The barbarians, finding themselves disappointed of their first hopes, surrendered themselves and their city.

Alexander marched thence into the Patalian territory. Its king was Moeres<sup>3</sup>, but he had abandoned the town and fled for safety to the mountains. Alexander then took possession of the place, and ravaged the surrounding country, from which he car-

ried off a great booty of sheep and cattle, besides a great quantity of corn. After this, taking some natives acquainted with the river to pilot his way, he sailed down the stream to an island which had sprung up almost in the middle of the channel.

## CHAPTER IX

Perils encountered on the voyage down the western arm of the Indus to the sea—Alexander returns from the mouth of the river to Patala.

Here he was obliged to make a longer stay than he had anticipated, because the pilots, finding they were not strictly guarded, had absconded. He then sent out a party of his men to search for others. They returned without finding any, but his unquenchable ambition to see the ocean and reach the boundaries of the world, made him entrust his own life and the safety of so many gallant men to an unknown river without any guides possessed of the requisite local knowledge. They thus sailed on ignorant of everything on the way they had to pass. It was entirely left to haphazard and baseless conjecture how far off they were from the sea, what tribes dwelt along the banks, whether the river was placid at its mouth, and whether it was thereabouts of a depth sufficient for their war ships. The only comfort in this rash adventure was a confident reliance on Alexander's uniform good fortune. The expedition had in this manner now proceeded a distance of 400 stadia, when the pilots brought to his notice that they began to feel sea air, and that they believed the ocean was not now far off.

The king, elated by the news, exhorted the sailors to bend to their oars. The end of their labours, he said, for which they had always been hoping and praying, was close at hand; nothing was now wanting to complete their glory; nothing left to withstand their valour. They could now, without the hazard of fighting, without any bloodshed, make the whole world their own. Even nature herself could advance no farther, and within a short time they would see what was known to none but the immortal gods. He nevertheless sent a small party ashore in a boat in order to take some of the natives straggling about, from whom he hoped some correct information might be obtained. After all the huts



near the shore had been searched, some natives at last were found hidden away in them. These, on being asked how far off the sea was, answered that they had never so much as heard of such a thing as the sea, but that on the third day they might come to water of a bitter taste which corrupted the fresh water. From this it was understood they meant the sea, whose nature they did not understand. The mariners therefore plied their oars with increased alacrity, and still more strenuously on the following day as they drew nearer to the fulfilment of their hopes.

On the third day they observed that the sea, coming up with a tide as yet gentle, began to mingle its brine with the fresh water of the river. Then they rowed out to another island that lay in the middle of the river, making, however, slower progress in rowing since the stream of the river was now beaten back by the force of the tide. They put in to the shore of the island, and such as landed ran hither and thither in quest of provisions, never dreaming of the mishap which was to overtake them from their ignorance of tides. It was now about the third hour of the day when the ocean, undergoing its periodic change, rose in flood-tide, and began to burst upon them and force back the current of the river, which being at first retarded, and then more violently repelled, was driven upward contrary to its natural direction with more than the impetuosity of rivers in flood rushing down precipitous beds. The men in general were ignorant of the nature of the sea, and so, when they saw it continually swelling higher, and overflowing the beach which before was dry, they looked upon this as something supernatural by which the gods signified their wrath against their rash presumption.

When the vessels were now fairly floated, and the whole squadron scattered in different directions, the men who had gone on shore ran back in consternation to the ships, confounded beyond measure by a calamity of a nature so unexpected. But amid the tumult their haste served only to mar their speed. Some were to be seen pushing the vessels with poles; others had taken their seats to row, but in doing so had meanwhile been preventing the proper adjustment of the oars. Others again, in hastening to sail out into the clear channel, without waiting for the requisite number of sailors and pilots, worked the vessels to little effect, crippled as these were and otherwise difficult to handle. At the same time several other vessels drifted away with the stream before those who were pell mell crowding into them could all

get on board, and in this case the crowding caused as much delay in hurrying off as did the scarcity of hands in the other vessels. From one side were shouted orders to stay, from another to put off, so that amid this confusion of contradictory orders nothing that was of any service could be seen or even heard. In such an emergency the pilots themselves were useless, since their commands could neither be heard for the uproar, nor executed by men so distracted with terror.

The ships accordingly ran foul of each other, broke away each other's oars, and bumped each other's sterns. A spectator could not have supposed that what he saw was the fleet of one and the same army, but rather two hostile fleets engaged in a sea-fight. Prows were dashed against poops, and vessels that damaged other vessels in front of them were themselves damaged in turn by vessels at their stern. The men, as was but natural, lost their temper, and from high words fell to blows. By this time the tide had overflowed all the level lands near the river's edge, leaving only sandheaps visible above the water like so many islands. To these numbers of the men swam for safety neglecting through fear the safety of the vessels they quitted, some of which were riding in very deep water where depressions existed in the ground, while others were stranded on shoals where the waves had covered the more or less elevated parts of the channel. But now they were suddenly surprised with a new danger, still greater than the first, for the sea, which had begun to ebb, was rushing back whence it came with a strong current, and was rendering back the lands which just before had been deeply submerged. This pitched some of the stranded vessels upon their sterns, and caused others to fall upon their sides, and that too with such violence that the fields around them were strewn with baggage, arms, broken oars, and wreckage.

The soldiers, meanwhile, neither dared to trust themselves to the land nor to leave their ships, as they dreaded that some calamity, worse than before, might at any moment befall them. They could scarcely indeed believe what they saw and experienced, these shipwrecks upon dry land, and the presence of the sea in the river. Nor did their misfortunes end here, for as they did not know that the tide would soon afterwards bring back the sea and float their ships, they anticipated that they would be reduced by famine to the most dismal extremities. To add to their terror monstrous creatures of frightful aspect, which the sea had left behind it, were seen

wandering about.

As night drew on, the hopelessness of the situation oppressed even the king himself with harassing anxieties. But no care could ever daunt his indomitable spirit, and great as was his anxiety, it did not prevent him from remaining all night on the watch and giving out his orders. He even sent some horsemen to the mouth of the river with instructions that when they saw the tide returning they should go before it and announce its approach. Meanwhile he caused the shattered vessels to be repaired, and those that were overturned to be set upright, at the same time ordering the men to be ready and on the alert when the land would be inundated by the return of the tide. The whole of that night had been spent by the king in watching and addressing words of encouragement to his men, when the horsemen came back at full gallop, with the tide following at their heels. It came at first with a gentle current which sufficed to set the ships afloat, but it soon gathered strength enough to set the whole fleet in motion. Then the soldiers and sailors, giving vent to their irrepressible joy at their unexpected deliverance, made the shores and banks resound with their exulting cheers. They asked each other wonderingly wherefrom so vast a sea had suddenly returned, whereto it had retired the day before, what was the nature of this strange element, which at one time was out of harmony with the natural laws of space, but at another was obedient to some fixed laws in respect of time? The king conjecturing from what had happened that the tide would return after sunrise, took advantage of it, and starting at midnight sailed down the river attended by a few ships, and having passed its mouth, advanced into the sea a distance of 400 stadia, and thus at last accomplished the object he had so much at heart. Having then sacrificed to the tutelary gods of the sea and of the places adjacent, he took the way back to his fleet.

## CHAPTER X

Alexander goes homeward by land, leaving Nearchus to follow by sea and conduct the fleet to the head of the Persian Gulf—Disastrous march through Gedrosia—Alexander arrives in Carmania, where he holds Bacchic revels to celebrate his conquests.

He sailed thence up the river, and next day reached a place of anchorage not far from a salt lake, the peculiar properties of which being unknown to his men, deceived those who thoughtlessly bathed in its waters. For scabs broke out over their bodies, and the disease being contagious, infected even others who had not bathed. The application of oil, however, cured the sores. Then as the country through which the army was to pass was dry and waterless, Alexander sent on Leonnatus in advance to dig wells, while he remained himself with the troops where he was, waiting for the arrival of spring. In the meantime he built a good many cities, and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were experienced navigators, to sail with the stoutest ships down to the ocean, and proceeding as far as they could with safety to make themselves acquainted with the nature of the sea. Having done this, they might return to join him by sailing up either the same river or the Euphrates.

The winter being now wellnigh over, he burned the useless ships, and marched homeward with his army by land. In the course of nine encampments he reached the land of the Arabites, and in nine more the land of the Gedrosii—a free people, who agreed to surrender after holding a council to consider the subject. As they surrendered voluntarily, nothing was exacted from them except a supply of provisions. On the fifth day thereafter he came to a river, which the natives called the Arabus, and beyond it he found the country barren and waterless. This he traversed, and so entered the dominions of the Oritae. Here he gave Hephaestion the great bulk of the army, and divided the rest of it, consisting of light-armed troops, between Ptolemy, Leonnatus, and himself. These three divisions plundered the Indians simultaneously, and carried off a large booty. Ptolemy devastated the maritime country, while the king himself and Leonnatus between them ravaged all the interior. Here too he built a city, which he peopled with Arachosians. Thence he came to those Indians who inhabit the sea-coast, possessing a great extent of country, and holding no manner of intercourse even with their next neighbours.

This isolation from the rest of the world has brutalised their character, which even by nature is far from humane. They have long claw like nails and long shaggy hair, for they cut the growth of neither. They live in huts constructed of shells and other offscourings of the sea. Their clothing consists of the skins of

wild beasts, and they feed on fish dried in the sun, and on the flesh of sea monsters cast on the shore during stormy weather. The Macedonians having by this time consumed all their provisions, suffered first from scarcity and at last from hunger, so that they were driven to search everywhere for the roots of the palm, which is the only tree that country produces. When even this kind of food failed them, they began to kill their beasts of burden, and did not spare even their horses. They were thus deprived of the means of carrying their baggage, and had to burn the rich spoils taken from their enemies, for the sake of which they had marched to the utmost extremities of the East.

A pestilence succeeded the famine, for the new juices of the unwholesome esculents on which they fed, superadded to the fatigue of marching and the strain of their mental anxiety, had spread various distempers among them, so that they were threatened with destruction whether they remained where they were or resumed their march. If they stayed famine would assail them, and if they advanced a still deadlier enemy, pestilence, would have them in its grasp. The plains were in consequence bestrewn with almost more bodies of the dying than of the dead. Even those who suffered least from the distemper could not keep pace with the main army, because everyone believed that the faster he travelled he advanced the more surely to health and safety. The men, therefore, whose strength failed craved help from all and sundry, whether known to them or unknown. But there were no beasts of burden now by which they could be taken on, and the soldiers had enough to do to carry their arms, whilst at the same time the dreadful figure of the calamity impending over themselves was ever before their eyes. Being thus repeatedly appealed to, they could not so much as bear to cast back a look at their comrades, their pity for others being lost in their fear for themselves.

Those, on the other hand, who were thus forsaken, implored the king, in the name of the gods and by the rites of their common religion, to help them in their sore need, and when they found that they vainly importuned deaf ears, their despair turned to frantic rage, so that they fell to imprecations, wishing for those who refused to help them a similar death and similar friends. The king, feeling himself to be the cause of so great a calamity, was oppressed with grief and shame, and sent orders to Phrataphernes, the satrap of the Parthians, to forward him upon camels provi-

sions ready cooked, and he also notified his wants to the governors of the adjacent provinces. In obedience to his orders the supplies were at once forwarded, and the army being thus rescued from famine at least, reached eventually the frontiers of Gedrosia, a region which alone of all these parts produces everything in great abundance. Here, therefore, he halted for some time to refresh his harassed troops by an interval of repose.

Meanwhile he received a letter from Leonnatus reporting that he had defeated the Oritae, who had brought against him a force of 8000 foot and 300 horse. Word came also from Craterus that he had crushed an incipient rebellion, instigated by two Persian nobles, Ozines and Zariaspes, whom he had seized and placed under custody. On leaving this place Alexander appointed Sibyrtius to be governor of that province in succession to Memnon, who had lately been cut off by some malady, and he then marched into Carmania, which was governed by the satrap Aspastes, whom he suspected of having designed to make himself independent while he was a great distance off in India. Aspastes came to meet Alexander, who, dissembling his resentment, received him graciously and let him remain in office till he could inquire into the charges preferred against him. Then as the different governors, in compliance with his demands, had sent him a large supply of horses and draught cattle from their respective provinces, he accommodated all his men who wanted them with horses and waggons. He restored also their arms to their former splendour, for they were now not far from Persia, which was a rich country and in the enjoyment of profound peace.

So then Alexander, whose soul aspired to more than human greatness, since he had rivalled, as we said before, the glory which Father Bacchus had achieved by his conquest of India, resolved also to match his reputation by imitating the Bacchanalian procession which that divinity first invented, whether that was a triumph or merely some kind of frolic with which his Bacchanals amused themselves. To this end he ordered the streets through which he was to pass to be strewn with flowers and chaplets, and beakers and other capacious vessels brimming with wine to be placed at all the house doors. Then he ordered waggons to be made, each capable of holding many soldiers, and these to be decorated like tents, some with white canvas and others with costly tapestry.

The king headed the procession with his friends and the

members of his select body-guard, wearing on their heads chaplets made of a variety of flowers. The strains of music were to be heard in every part of the procession, here the breathings of the flute, and there the warblings of the lyre. All the army followed, feasting and carousing as they rode in the waggons, which they had decorated as gaily as they possibly could, and had hung round with their choicest and showiest weapons. The king himself and the companions of his revelry rode in a chariot, which groaned under the weight of goblets of gold and large drinking cups made of the same precious metal. The army for seven days advanced in this bacchanalian fashion, so that it might have fallen an easy prey to the vanquished if they had but had a spark of spirit to attack it when in this drunken condition. Why, a thousand men only, if with some mettle in them and sober, could have captured the whole army in the midst of its triumph, besotted as it was with its seven days' drunken debauch.

But fortune, which assigns to every thing its fame and value in the world's estimation, turned into glory this gross military scandal; and the contemporaries of Alexander, as well as those who came after his time, regarded it as a wonderful achievement, that his soldiers, though drunk, passed in safety through nations hardly as yet sufficiently subdued, the barbarians taking, what was in reality a piece of great temerity, to be a display of well-grounded confidence. All this grand exhibition, however, had the executioner in its wake, for the satrap Aspastes, of whom we before made mention, was ordered to be put to death. So true is it that cruelty is no obstacle to the indulgence of luxury, nor luxury to the indulgence of cruelty.

## FOOTNOTES.

<sup>1</sup> That is, when he crossed the Tanais (Jaxartes) to attack the Scythians.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander here refers to the plot of Hermolaos and the pages against his life.

<sup>3</sup> 'Moeres' may be Greek equivalent for Maharaja.

## D. DIODORUS SICULUS

Diodorus Siculus (Diodorus the Sicilian), the Greek historian, was born at Agyrium in Sicily, and lived in the second half of the first century B.C. He himself tells us that he travelled in Egypt between 60 and 57 B.C. and mentions events happening in 21 B.C. He devoted thirty years to the composition of his history, entitled *Bibliotheca historica* (Historical Library), which consisted of forty books. Of these only books I to V and XI to XX are still extant, the rest existing only in fragments preserved in later works. The extant books contain Alexander's campaign in India, a general description of India, and some incidental notices of India.

The extracts reproduced below are based on the English translation of McCrindle (M-I). There is an English translation of the whole book by C. H. Oldfather, published in 1935.

BIBLIOTHECA HISTORICA OF DIODORUS  
SICULUS

## SEVENTEENTH BOOK

## CHAPTER LXXXIV

Alexander at Massaga—His treachery towards the  
Indian mercenaries who had capitulated.

When the capitulation on those terms had been ratified by oaths, the Queen [of Massaga], to show her admiration of Alexander's magnanimity, sent out to him most valuable presents, with an intimation that she would fulfil all the stipulations. Then the mercenaries at once, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, evacuated the city, and after retiring to a distance of eighty stadia, pitched their camp unmolested without thought of what was to happen. But Alexander, who was actuated by an implacable enmity against the mercenaries, and had kept his troops under arms ready for action, pursued the barbarians, and falling suddenly upon them, made a great slaughter of their ranks. The barbarians at first loudly protested that they were attacked in violation of sworn obligations, and invoked the gods whom he had desecrated by taking false oaths in their name. But Alexander with loud voice retorted that his covenant merely bound him to let them depart from the city, and was by no means a league of perpetual amity between them and the Macedonians. The mercenaries, undismayed by the greatness of their danger, drew their ranks together in form of a ring, within which they placed the women and children to guard them on all sides against their



assailants. As they were now desperate, and by their audacity and feats of valour, made the conflict in which they closed hot work for the enemy, while the Macedonians held it a point of honour not to be outdone in courage by a horde of barbarians, great was the astonishment and alarm which the peril of the crisis created. For as the combatants were locked together fighting hand to hand, death and wounds were dealt round in every variety of form. Thus the Macedonians, when once their long spikes had shattered the shields of the barbarians, pierced their vitals with the steel points of these weapons, and on the other hand the mercenaries never hurled their javelins without deadly effect against the near mark presented by the dense ranks of the enemy. When many were thus wounded and not a few killed, the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men for the imminence of the danger and the great interests at stake forced them to do violence to their nature, and to take an active part in the defence. Accordingly some of them who had supplied themselves with arms, did their best to cover their husbands with their shields, while others who were without arms did much to impede the enemy by flinging themselves upon them and catching hold of their shields. The defenders, however, after fighting desperately along with their wives, were at last overpowered by superior numbers, and met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour. Alexander spared the unwarlike and unarmed multitude, as well as the women that still survived, but took them away under charge of the cavalry.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

### Alexander captures the rock Aornus.

He took many other cities, and put to death all who offered resistance to his arms. He then advanced to the rock called Aornus, unto which such of the inhabitants as survived had fled for refuge, because it was a stronghold of incomparable security. Herakles, it is said, had in the days of old assaulted this rock, but had abandoned the siege on the occurrence of violent earthquakes and signs from heaven. Now, when this story came to Alexander's ears, it only whetted his eagerness to attack the stronghold, and match himself against the god in a contest for glory. The

rock was 100 stadia in circuit, 16 stadia in height, and had a level surface forming a complete circle. On its southern side it was washed by the Indus, the greatest of Indian rivers, but elsewhere it was all environed with deep ravines and inaccessible cliffs. When Alexander, who perceived the difficult nature of the ground, had given up all hope of taking the place by assault, there came to him an old man accompanied by his two sons. He was miserably poor, this man, and had lived a long time in that neighbourhood, inhabiting a cave with three lairs cut into the rock, which served as night-quarters for himself and his sons. He had thus a familiar knowledge of all that locality. This old man then, coming to the king, explained to him what his circumstances were, and undertook to guide his army up the difficult ascent, and take him to a position which commanded the barbarians in occupation of the rock. Alexander promised the man an ample recompense for this service, and in following his guidance seized in the first place the narrow pass which alone gave access to the rock, and, as there was no exit from it elsewhere, he so closely blocked up the enemy that no assistance could possibly reach them from any quarter. In the next place he set all his men to work to fill up with a mound the ravine which lay at the root of the rock. Having thus got nearer the place, he pushed the siege with all possible vigour, making assaults for seven days and as many nights without intermission, the troops taking duty by turns. The advantage, however, lay at first with the barbarians, who fought from a higher position, and killed many who pressed the attack too recklessly. But when the mound had been completed, and catapults which shot bolts to a great distance and other engines of war had been brought to bear against them, and when it became manifest besides that the king would by no means abandon the siege, the Indians were struck with despair. Alexander, whose sagacity foresaw what would occur, withdrew the guard which he had left at the pass, thus giving the men on the rock, if they wished to retire, a free passage out. So then the barbarians, dismayed alike by the valour of the Macedonians and the king's fixed ambition to be master of the place, evacuated the rock by night.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

Alexander crosses the Indus, and is hospitably received by Taxiles.

Alexander having thus outwitted the Indians by these feints, obtained possession of the rock without risk being incurred. He then gave his guide the stipulated reward, and moved off with his army at the very time when Aphrikes, an Indian who had 20,000 soldiers and 15 elephants, was hovering about in that locality. This man certain of his followers put to death, and, having brought his head to Alexander, procured for this service their own safety. The king took them into his own ranks, and got possession of the elephants, which were wandering at large about the country.

He then came to the river Indus, and, finding that the thirty-oared galleys which he ordered had been prepared, and the passage bridged, he gave his army a rest of thirty days to recruit their strength. Having then offered to the gods sacrifices on a magnificent scale, he led his army over to the other side, where he met with an incident which took a strange and unexpected turn. For Taxiles being by this time dead, his son Mophis had succeeded to the government. Now Mophis had before this not only sent word to Alexander, then in Sogdiana, that he would fight on his side against any Indians who might appear in arms against him, but at this juncture had also sent ambassadors to say that he surrendered his kingdom into his hands. So when Alexander was at a distance of forty stadia he set forth to meet him, attended by his friends, and his army drawn up in battle order and his elephants ranged in line. Alexander seeing a great host advancing towards him drawn up as if for action, thought that the Indian had treacherously offered to surrender that he might thus fall upon the Macedonians before they could prepare for battle. He therefore ordered the trumpeters to sound to arms, and having marshalled his troops, advanced to give the Indians battle. But Mophis, on seeing the commotion in the Macedonian ranks, and comprehending its cause, left his army, and riding forward with a few of his friends, corrected the mistake into which the Macedonians had fallen, and surrendered himself and his army to the king. Alexander, to mark his approbation of this conduct, gave back his kingdom to Mophis, and ever afterwards treated him as

a friend and ally. He also changed his name to Taxiles.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII

Alexander marches against Porus—the appearance presented by the Indian army with its elephants.

Such were the transactions of this year—that in which Chremes was archon at Athens, and in which the Romans appointed Publius Cornelius and Aulus Postumius consuls. Thereafter Alexander, who had recruited his army by an interval of rest in the country of Taxiles, took the field against Porus, the king of the neighbouring Indians, who had an army of more than 50,000 foot, about 3000 horse, above 1000 chariots, and 130 elephants. This king had made an alliance with another prince called Embisaros, the ruler of an adjacent tribe, and who possessed an army which was but little inferior to his own. Alexander, on learning that this king was 400 stadia distant, resolved to attack Porus before his ally could reach him. Porus, being warned of the near approach of the enemy, at once drew up his troops in order of battle. His cavalry he distributed on the wings, and his elephants he placed in his front line at equi-distances, and so arranged as to strike the enemy with terror. In the intervals between the animals he stationed the rest of his soldiers, instructing them to succour the elephants and protect them from being assailed in flank by the enemy's missiles. The whole disposition of his army gave it very much the appearance of a city—the elephants as they stood resembling its towers, and the men-at-arms placed between them resembling the lines of wall intervening between tower and tower. But Alexander, having observed how the forces of the enemy had been disposed, regulated thereby the formation of his own line.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII

### The defeat of Porus.

The Macedonian cavalry began the action, and destroyed nearly all the chariots of the Indians. Upon this the elephants,

applying to good use their prodigious size and strength, killed some of the enemy by trampling them under their feet, and crushing their armour and their bones, while upon others they inflicted a terrible death, for they first lifted them aloft with their trunks, which they had twined round their bodies, and then dashed them down with great violence to the ground. Many others they deprived in a moment of life by goring them through and through with their tusks. But the Macedonians heroically bore the brunt of this dreadful onslaught, and having killed with their long pikes the men stationed between the elephants, made the poise of the battle equal. They next assailed the animals themselves with a storm of javelins, thus piercing them with numerous wounds, which so tortured them that the Indians mounted on their backs lacked sufficient strength to control their movements, for the animals on heading to their own ranks bore against them with an impetuosity not to be repressed, and trampled their own friends under their feet. Then ensued a great confusion, but Porus, who was mounted on the most powerful of all his elephants, on seeing what had happened, gathered around him forty of the animals that were still under control and falling upon the enemy with all the weight of the elephants, made a great slaughter with his own hand, for he far surpassed in bodily strength any soldier of his army. In stature he measured five cubits, while his girth was such that his breastplate was twice the size required for a man of ordinary bulk. For this reason the javelins he flung from his hand flew with all but the impetus of shots from a catapult. The Macedonians who stood opposed to him being terror-struck at his astonishing prowess, Alexander sent to their assistance the archers and the divisional light troops, with orders that every man should make Porus the object of his aim. The soldiers lost no time in carrying out these orders. Their bolts flew thick and fast, and as the Indian king at whom they were all aimed presented a broad mark, none of them failed to carry home. Porus fought on with heroic courage, but being drained of blood by the number of his wounds, he fainted away, and leaning on his elephant for support, was borne to the ground. A report having spread that their king was dead, the remnant of the Indian host fled from the field, but many of them were slain in the flight.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX

Losses sustained by each side in the battle of the Hydaspes—Alexander orders a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes.

Alexander having gained this splendid victory, recalled his soldiers from the field by sound of trumpet. In this engagement more than 12,000 of the Indians fell, among whom were two of the sons of Porus, and his generals, and the most distinguished of his other officers. More than 9,000 men were taken prisoners, and eighty elephants were captured. Porus himself, who was still alive, was given into the hands of the Indians to be cured of his wounds. Of the Macedonians, there fell 280 horsemen and more than 700 foot-soldiers. The king buried the dead, and in proportion to their merits rewarded those who had signalled themselves by their bravery in the action. He then sacrificed to the Sun, as the deity who had given him the conquest of the eastern parts of the world. As the mountainous country adjacent produced much well-grown fir, and not a little cedar and pine, besides an unlimited quantity of other kinds of timber fit for building ships, he prepared what ships he required. For he intended, after he had reached the limits of India and subdued all its inhabitants, to sail down stream to the ocean. He founded two cities, one beyond the river at the place where he crossed, and the other on the field where he had defeated Porus. The work of building the ships was quickly finished, owing to the great number of hands employed on it; and he then appointed Porus, who had recovered from his wounds, in consideration of the valour he had displayed, to be king of the country over which he had formerly ruled. He then gave his army thirty days to recruit in this region, which yielded an unstinted supply of all the necessaries of life.

## CHAPTER XC

Some account of the serpents, apes, and trees seen by the Macedonians in India.

In the mountainous country which adjoined the scene of action there were found other peculiar products besides timber for

shipbuilding, for it abounded with snakes of an extraordinary size, being sixteen cubits in length, and with many kinds of apes, which also were remarkable for their size. The apes of themselves suggested what stratagem should be employed in hunting them, for they are prone to imitate whatever they see men doing, but yet are not easily overpowered by mere force, since they are possessed both of great strength of body and sharpness of wit. Some members, therefore, of the hunting party smear their eyes with honey, others in full view of their game put on their shoes, while others hang mirrors around their necks. Then, having affixed nooses to their shoes, they leave these behind them, and in place of the honey they substitute gum, and at the same time attach hauling ropes to the mirrors. So when the apes try to do all that they had seen done by the men they find themselves powerless to do so, for their eyelids are glued together, their feet entangled in the nooses, and their bodies held fast by the ropes. In these circumstances they fall an easy prey to the hunters.

Alexander having struck terror into the king called Embisaros, who had come too late to the assistance of Porus, compelled him to do what he commanded. Having then crossed the river with his army, he advanced through a country of surpassing fertility, for it had various kinds of trees which rose to a height of seventy cubits, and had such a girth that it took fully four men to clasp them round, while their shadow projected to a distance of 300 feet. This region also was much infested with snakes. These were small in size, and marked with diverse colours, for while some were like bronze-coloured wands, others had a thick hair like mane, and with their sting inflicted a death of acute pain, for the sufferings of any one they bit were dreadful, and were accompanied with a flux of sweat which looked like blood. On this account the Macedonians, being terribly plagued by their stings, suspended their couches from the trees and kept awake the greater part of the night; but when they had learned from the natives that a certain root was an antidote, its application relieved them from their sufferings.

## CHAPTER XCI

Alexander pursues Porus, nephew of the great Porus—Subdues the Adrestai and Kathaiaians and enters the kingdom of Sopeithes—Peculiar customs of the natives of these parts.

When he moved forward with his forces certain men came to inform him that Porus, the king of the country, who was the nephew of that Porus whom he had defeated, had quitted his kingdom and fled to the nation of the Gandaridai. Alexander, irritated at the news, despatched Hephaistion into his country with a body of troops and ordered him to hand over the kingdom to the other Porus who was on his side. He then marched in person against the Adrestai, and having reduced some of their cities which offered resistance, and persuaded others to surrender, he invaded the country of the Kathaiaians, a people among whom the custom prevailed that widows should be burned along with their husbands, the barbarians having put in force a decree to this effect because an instance had occurred of a wife procuring her husband's death by poison. The king laid siege to their greatest and strongest city and burned it to the ground, in revenge for the many dangers incurred in capturing it. While he was besieging another considerable city the Indians in a suppliant manner entreated his mercy and he spared them accordingly.

He next warred against the cities that were subject to the sway of Sopeithes. These were governed by laws in the highest degree salutary, for while in other respects their political system was one to admire, beauty was held among them in the highest estimation. For this reason a discrimination between the children born to them is made at the stage of infancy, when those that are perfect in their limbs and features, and have constitutions which promise a combination of strength and beauty, are allowed to be reared, while those that have any bodily defect are condemned to be destroyed as not worth the rearing. They make their marriages also in accordance with this principle, for in selecting a bride they care nothing whether she has a dowry and a handsome fortune besides, but look only to her beauty and other advantages of the outward person. It follows that the inhabitants of these cities are generally held in higher estimation than the rest of their countrymen. Their king Sopeithes, who was



admired by all for his beauty and his stature, which exceeded four cubits, came forth from the city where his palace was, and on surrendering himself and his kingdom to Alexander was reinstated in his authority by the clemency of the conqueror. Sopeithes with the utmost cordiality feasted the whole army in splendid style for several days.

## CHAPTER XCII

### Courage and ferocity of the dogs in the dominions of Sopeithes.

Among the many valuable presents which he bestowed on Alexander were 150 dogs remarkable for their size and strength, and superior also in other points, and said to have been bred from tigresses. Being desirous that Alexander should have proof of their mettle by seeing them at work, he placed a full-grown lion within an enclosure, and selecting two of the least valuable of the dogs, included in the present, cast them to the lion. When these were likely to be vanquished by the wild beast he let loose other two dogs. Then when the four dogs together proved more than a match for the lion, a man who was sent into the ring with a knife cut away the right leg of one of the dogs. When the king loudly remonstrated, and his body-guards rushed forward and arrested the hand of the Indian, Sopeithes announced that he would give three dogs instead of the one which was mutilated. Then the huntsman, taking hold of the leg, cut it away quietly bit by bit. The dog, without uttering so much as a yell or a moan of pain, kept his fangs fixed in the bite, until all his blood being drained he drew his last breath on the body of the lion.

## CHAPTER XCIII

### Submission of Phegeus—Advance to the Hypanis—Description given by Phegeus of the country beyond the Hypanis—Of the Praisians and their king Xandrames.

During these transactions Hephaistion, who had made large conquests of Indian territory with the expedition under his command, rejoined Alexander, who, after having praised that general

for his valour and devotion to his service, then led his army into the dominions of Phegeus. Here, as the natives welcomed the presence of the Macedonians and Phegeus came out with many gifts to meet them, Alexander consented to let him retain his kingdom. Then having for two days enjoyed along with his army the noble hospitality of this prince, he advanced toward the Hypanis, a river with a width of seven stadia, a depth of six fathoms, and a violent current which made its passage difficult. He had obtained from Phegeus a description of the country beyond the Indus: First came a desert which it would take twelve days to traverse; beyond this was the river called the Ganges which had a width of thirty-two stadia, and a greater depth than any other Indian river; beyond this again were situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridai, whose king, Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Alexander, distrusting these statements, sent for Porus and questioned him as to their accuracy. Porus assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character, and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man—the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become deeply enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned. Alexander, though sensible of the difficulties which would attend an expedition against the Gandaridai, had nevertheless no thought of swerving from the path of his ambition, but having in his favour the courage of the Macedonians and the responses of the oracles, he was buoyed up with the hope that he would conquer the barbarians, for had not the Pythian priestess pronounced him invincible, and had not Ammon promised him the dominion of the whole world?

#### CHAPTER XCIV

**Miserable condition of the Macedonian army—Its refusal to advance beyond the Hypanis.**

He saw, however, that his soldiers were dispirited by interminable campaigns, and by their exposure for nearly eight years

to toils and dangers reduced to a condition of the utmost misery, and he therefore conceived it was necessary for him to animate his troops for the expedition against the Gandaridai by plying them with suitable arguments. For death had made severe ravages in his ranks, and all hope was gone that his wars would ever come to an end. Then their horses' hoofs had been worn off by ceaseless marches, and their weapons worn out by use. The Hellenic costumes again were by this time threadbare and could not be replaced, and hence the men were obliged to use cloth woven in barbaric looms wherewith to cut out such dresses for themselves as were worn by the Indian. It also so happened that violent storms of rain burst from the clouds for the space of seventy days, accompanied with continual outbreaks of thunder and lightning. Alexander, considering this state of things an obstacle to his designs, placed all his hopes of gaining his ends on winning by benefactions the hearty support of his soldiers. Accordingly he allowed them to plunder the enemy's country where supplies of all sorts abounded, and on those days when the army was busily engaged in foraging he called together the soldiers' wives and children and then promised to give the women an allowance of food month by month, and the children a donative according to the calculations of what their fathers received as the pay of their military rank. When the soldiers who had found a rich and ample booty returned to the camp, he gathered them all together, and in a well-weighed speech addressed the assembly on the subject of the expedition against the Gandaridai; but when the Macedonians would by no means assent to his proposals he renounced his contemplated enterprise.

## CHAPTER XCV

Alexander erects altars and other memorials near the Hypanis, and returns to the Akesines.

He then resolved to set up marks to indicate the limits to which he had advanced; so first of all he built altars to the twelve gods of 50 cubits in height. Having next enclosed an encampment thrice the size of the one he occupied, he dug round it a trench 50 feet broad and 40 feet deep, and with the earth cast up from this trench he erected a rampart of extraordinary dimen-

sions. He further ordered quarters to be constructed as for foot-soldiers, each containing two beds 5 cubits in length for each man, and besides this accommodation, two stalls of twice the ordinary size for each horseman. Whatever else was to be left behind was directed to be likewise proportionately increased in size. His object in all this was not merely to make a camp as for heroes, but at the same time to leave among the people of the country tokens of mighty men to show with what enormous bodily strength they were endowed. When these works were finished he retraced his steps with all his army to the river Akesines. On reaching it he found that the boats had been built, and when he had rigged these out, he ordered an additional number to be constructed. At this time there arrived from Greece allies and mercenaries led by the generals in command of the allies, amounting to more than 30,000 foot and not much less than 6,000 cavalry. Splendid full suits of armour besides were brought for the infantry to the number of 25,000, and 100 talents of medicinal drugs, all which he distributed among the soldiers. When the equipment of the fleet was finished, and 200 boats without hatches and 800 tenders had been got ready, he proceeded to give names to the cities which had been founded on the banks of the river, calling one Nikaia in commemoration of his victory, and the other Boukephala after his horse that perished in the battle with Porus.

## CHAPTER XCVI

Voyage to the Southern Ocean begun—Submission of the Siboi—The Agalassians attacked and conquered.

Alexander now embarked with his friends, and started on the voyage to the Southern Ocean. The bulk of the army simultaneously marched along the banks of the river under the command of Craterus and Hephaistion. On coming to the place where the Akesines and Hydaspes join each other the king landed his troops and led them against a people called the Siboi. These, it is said, were descended from the soldiers who, under Herakles, attacked the rock Aornus, and after failing to capture it were settled by him in this part of the country. Alexander encamped near their capital, and thereupon the citizens who filled the highest offices

came forth to meet him, and reminded him how they were connected by the ties of a common origin. They avowed themselves to be, in virtue of their kinship, ready and willing to do whatever he might require, and presented him also with magnificent gifts. Alexander was so gratified by their professions of goodwill that he permitted their cities to remain in the enjoyment of their freedom. He then advanced his arms against their next neighbours; and finding that the people called Agalassians had mustered an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse, he gave them battle and proving victorious put the greater number of them to the sword. The rest, who had fled for safety to the adjacent towns, which were soon captured, he condemned to slavery. The remainder of the inhabitants had been collected into one place, and he seized 20,000 of them, who had taken refuge in a large city, which he stormed. The Indians, however, having barricaded the narrow streets, fought with great vigour from the houses, so that Alexander in pressing the attack lost not a few Macedonians. This enraged him, and he set fire to the city, burning with it most of its defenders. He gave quarter, however, to 3,000 of the survivors, who had fled for refuge to the citadel and sued for mercy.

## CHAPTER XCVII

### Disaster to the fleet at the confluence of the rivers.

He again embarked with his friends, and sailed down stream as far as the confluence of the Indus with the two rivers already mentioned. These mighty streams met with tumultuous roar, and formed at their junction many formidable eddies, which destroyed whatever sailing craft were sucked into their vortex. The current besides was so swift and strong that it baffled all the skill of the pilots. Two ships of war foundered in consequence, and of the other vessels not a few were stranded. A furious surge broke over the admiral's ship itself—a mishap which nearly proved fatal to the king. Wherefore, as death itself stared him in the face, he stripped off his clothes, and in his naked condition clung to anything that offered a chance of safety. His friends were at the same time swimming alongside the ship, every one eager to receive the king in the event of its capsizing. The utmost confusion prevailed on board, the men contending with the force of the current,

and the river baffling all human skill and endeavour, so that it was with the greatest difficulty Alexander made the shore, on which he was cast along with the vessels. For this unexpected deliverance he offered sacrifice to the gods for his escape from extreme peril after contending, like Achilles, with a river.

## CHAPTER XCVIII

**Combination of the Syrakousai and Malloi—Alexander, neglecting the warning of a soothsayer, attacks their stronghold, and scales the walls of its citadel.**

He undertook next an expedition against the Syrakousai and the people called the Malloi, two populous and warlike nations. The inhabitants, he found, had mustered a force of 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse and 700 chariots. Before Alexander's coming they had been at feud with each other, but on his approach had settled their differences, and cemented an alliance by intermarriage, each nation taking and giving in exchange 10,000 of their young women for wives. They did not, however, combine their forces and take the field, for as a dispute had arisen about the leadership, they had drawn off into the adjoining towns. Alexander, while approaching the city that first came in his way, was pondering how he could lay siege to it and capture it at the very first assault, when one of the soothsayers, named Demophon, came to him and said that he had been forewarned by certain omens that the king in besieging the place would be very dangerously wounded, and he therefore advised Alexander to let that city alone for the present, and meanwhile turn his attention to other enterprises. But the king sharply rebuked him for hampering the valour of men in the heat of action. He then made arrangements for the conduct of the siege, and he led himself the way to the city, which he was ambitious to reduce at once by a vigorous assault. The battering train was, however, late in coming up, and he was himself the first to burst open a postern, and by this side entrance get into the city. He then cut down many of the defenders, put the rest to flight, and pursued them into the citadel. As the Macedonians were meanwhile detained fighting at the wall, he seized a ladder and applying it to the rampart of the fortress, began to mount it, holding the while his shield above his head. He climbed

up with such activity that he quickly reached the top, and surprised the barbarians who were stationed there on guard. The Indians did not venture to close with him, but assailed him from a distance off with darts and arrows, so that the king was sorely galled with the pelting storm of missiles. By this time the Macedonians had applied to the walls two scaling ladders, up which they were mounting, when both of them from being overcrowded broke down, precipitating every one to the ground.

## CHAPTER XCIX

Alexander left alone leaps down from the walls into the citadel, bravely defends himself, but is dangerously wounded—He is rescued by his friends, who capture the stronghold—The Greek colonists in Bactria revolt.

The king being thus isolated from all help, performed a feat of marvellous audacity, which well deserves to be put on record. For, thinking it would be unworthy of his characteristic good fortune if he retired from the walls to his men leaving his purpose unaccomplished, he leaped down, arms and all, alone as he was, into the citadel. The Indians hastened up to assail him, but with undaunted courage he sustained the brunt of their onslaught. Protecting himself on his right hand by the shelter of a tree rooted by the wall, and on the left by the wall itself he thus kept the Indians at bay, firmly fixed in his purpose to bear himself right gallantly like a king by whom such great things had been achieved, and ambitious to make the close of his life the most glorious of his whole career, for numerous were the blows which he received on his helmet, nor few were those which he caught on his shield. At last, however, being hit by an arrow under the pap, he sank on his knee, overcome by the force of the blow. The Indian who had shot the arrow immediately sprang forward, thinking lightly of the danger, but while he was fetching down a blow, Alexander smote him with his sword under the ribs, and, as the wound was mortal the barbarian fell. Then the king grasping a branch within reach of his hand, and raising himself up with it, challenged any of the Indians who so wished to come forward and fight him. Just at this crisis Peucestas, one of the hypaspists, who had mounted by a different ladder, was the first who succeeded in covering

the king with his shield. After him many others appeared on the scene, who terrified the barbarians and saved Alexander. The city was then stormed and the Macedonians, in their rage for what the king had suffered, slew all whom they could anywhere find, and filled the city with dead bodies. While the king's attention was for many days absorbed with the curing of his wound, the Greek colonists of Bactria and Sogdiana, who had long felt it a great grievance to be settled among barbarians, when they heard at that time that the king had died of a wound, revolted from the Macedonians, and, having mustered to the number of 3,000, set out on their return home. They had many sufferings to endure on the way, and they were subsequently put to death by the Macedonians after Alexander's death.

## CHAPTER C

### Alexander recovers from his wound—Combat between Koragos and Dioxippos—Dioxippos becomes victor.

Alexander, on being cured of his wound, gave thank-offerings to the gods for his recovery, and entertained his friends with great banquets. During the revels a noteworthy incident occurred. Among the invited guests was a Macedonian called Koragos, who was remarkable for his great bodily strength and the number of his brave exploits in war. This man, in an access of drunken bravado, challenged to single combat the Athenian Dioxippus, a prize-fighter, who had been crowned at the public games for victories of the highest distinction. The guests present at the carousal naturally were interested in the match, and Dioxippus having accepted the challenge, the king fixed the day on which the combat should come off. At the time appointed for the match the people thronged in tens of thousands to witness the spectacle. The Macedonians, who were of the same race with Koragos, and the king himself joined in showing their eagerness for the success of their compatriot, while the Greeks were unanimous in backing up Dioxippus. The champions advanced into the lists, the Macedonian arrayed in costly armour, the Athenian naked, rubbed over with oil, and wearing a close-fitting skull-cap made of felt. As both men excited the wonder and admiration of the spectators by the massive strength of their limbs and their superlative prowess, the



contest, it was anticipated, would be of the nature of a fight between two gods; for the Macedonian, with his stalwart form and the dazzling splendour of his arms, which filled the beholders with amazement, was taken to be like Mars, while Dioxippus, by his prodigious strength, his practice in wrestling and carrying the characteristic club, showed like Herakles. When they advanced to the attack the Macedonian from the proper distance discharged his javelin, but his antagonist, swerving a little aside, eluded the coming blow. Then the former again advanced with his long Macedonian pike levelled for the charge, but the other on seeing him approach sufficiently near, struck the pike with his club and shattered it to pieces. The Macedonian, after being thus twice baffled, came on to the next round intending now to use his sword, but when he was just on the point of drawing it, Dioxippus unexpectedly sprang forward, and with his left hand seized the hand that was drawing the sword, while with his right hand he pushed Koragos from where he stood, tripped up his legs, and hurled him to the ground. Then Dioxippus, planting his foot on his foeman's neck and lifting up his club, directed his eyes towards the spectators.

## CHAPTER CI

The Macedonians plot against Dioxippus, who in consequence takes away his own life—Alexander's regret for his loss.

The multitude having loudly applauded the victor for the supreme courage whereby, contrary to all expectation, he had won the day, the king ordered him to let his antagonist go, and then, dismissing the assembly, withdrew to his tent deeply mortified by the discomfiture of the Macedonian. Then Dioxippus, letting the fallen man go, quitted the field with a famous victory and wearing fillets with which his countrymen had adorned his brows in gratitude for the honour which he had conferred on all Greeks in common. Fortune, however, did not allow the victor any long time to enjoy his triumph, for the king became more and more alienated from him, and all Alexander's friends and all the Macedonians about the court were so envious of his worth and fame, that they laid a plot against him, and persuaded the chief steward

of the royal household to hide away one of the golden wine-cups under his pillow. So at their next banquet when the wine was served, they charged Dioxippus with theft on the pretence that the cup had been found in his possession, thus subjecting him to shame and disgrace. From this he saw clearly that the Macedonians with one consent had set themselves against him, and he then rose from the banquet, and soon afterwards when within his own chamber, wrote a letter to Alexander regarding the machinations which had been formed against him. This letter he entrusted to his own servants to deliver into the king's own hands. He then put an end to his life, and thus by having inconsiderately accepted a challenge, terminated his career by an act of still greater folly. Many of those accordingly who blamed him for a want of sense, sarcastically remarked it was a misfortune to have great strength of body and but a modicum of brain. The king on perusal of the letter took the man's end much to heart, and in after times often regretted the loss of a man of his noble qualities. As he made no use of him in his lifetime but felt the want of him when he was gone, and when regret was unavailing, he came to know the nobility of the man's nature from its contrast to the baseness of his calumniators.

## CHAPTER CII

The Sambastai, Sodrai, and Massanoi submit to Alexander, who founds near the banks of the river a city called *Alexandreia*—He conquers the kingdoms of *Musicanus*, *Porticanus*, and *Sambus*—The last effects his escape.

Alexander having given orders to his army to march along the river in a line parallel with the course of the navigation, proceeded on his voyage down stream towards the ocean, and on reaching the dominions of the Sambastai, landed to invade their country. They were a people inferior to none in India either for numbers or for bravery. They dwelt in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed, and on hearing that the Macedonians were coming to attack them collected 60,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horse, and 500 chariots. But when the fleet bore in sight they were thrown into great alarm by the novelty of the appearance it presented and the unexpectedness of its pre-

sence, and as they were at the same time disheartened by the reports which circulated about the Macedonians, they adopted the advice of their elders not to fight and therefore sent on an embassy consisting of fifty of their foremost citizens, under the belief that they would be treated with all proper courtesy. The king having commended them for coming and expressed his readiness to make peace with them, was presented by the inhabitants with gifts of great magnificence, and was besides accorded heroic honours. He then moved on towards the tribes called Sodrai and Massanoi, who occupied the country on both sides of the river and in these parts he founded near the river the city of **Alexandria**, in which he planted a colony of 10,000 men. He next reached the dominions of King Musicanus, seized that potentate, and having put him to death, subjugated his people. He next invaded the territories under the sway of Porticanus, and took cities at the first assault which he permitted the soldiers to sack and then burned. Porticanus himself fled into a part of the country which offered means of defence, but in a battle he was defeated and slain. All the cities subject to his sceptre Alexander captured and razed to the ground, and by these severe measures spread consternation among the surrounding tribes. He next plundered the kingdom of Sambus, and having enslaved and destroyed most of his cities, put upwards of 80,000 of the barbarians to the sword. The nation called the Brahmanoi were involved in like calamities, but, as the rest sued for mercy, Alexander punished the most guilty and acquitted the rest of the offences charged against them. King Sambus escaped the danger with which he was menaced by taking flight with thirty elephants into the country beyond the Indus.

### CHAPTER CIII

**Harmatelia holds out against Alexander—In a battle with its inhabitants Ptolemy is wounded by a poisoned arrow, but is cured by an antidote revealed to Alexander in a dream.**

At the extremity of the country of the Brachmans there lay in the midst of difficult ground the city called Harmatelia, and as the inhabitants presumed alike on their valour and the security of their position, Alexander despatched against them a few light-

armed troops, who were directed to hang on the rear of the enemy, and to take to flight in case they were attacked. These men proceeded to attack the ramparts, but being only 500 strong were regarded with contempt. A body therefore of 3,000 men under arms sallied out from the city against these troops which pretending to be panic-struck, took to a precipitate flight. But the king with a few followers stood his ground against the barbarians who gave pursuit, and after a severe conflict slew some and took others prisoners. On the king's side, however, not a few received wounds which all but proved fatal, since the barbarians had anointed their steels with a deadly tincture, and had taken the field to bring the war to an issue in full reliance on its efficacy. This virulent tincture was prepared from snakes of a certain kind which were hunted by the natives, who on killing them exposed their carcasses to the sun in order that the flesh might be decomposed by the burning heat of his rays. As this process went on the juices fell out in drops, and by this liquid the poison was secreted from the carcasses of the snakes. Accordingly, when any one was wounded, his body at once became numb, and sharp pains soon succeeded, while the whole frame was shaken with tremblings and convulsions. The skin became cold and livid, and the stomach discharged bile. A foam, moreover, of a black colour issued from the wound and putrefied. At this stage the poison quickly spread to the vital parts of the body, and caused a death of fearful agony. Those, therefore, who had been severely wounded and those who had received nothing more than an accidental scratch suffered equally. While the wounded were perishing by such a horrible death, the king was not so much grieved for the others, but was in the deepest distress of mind on account of Ptolemy, who afterwards became a king, and for whom he had at that time a warm affection. Now at this crisis an incident occurred of a strange and marvellous nature, which concerned Ptolemy, and which some ascribed to the provident care of the gods for his safety. For as he was loved by all the soldiers for his bravery and his unbounded generosity, so in his hour of need he obtained the kindly help he required. For the king in his sleep saw a vision in which he appeared to see a serpent holding a plant in its mouth, and showing its nature and its powers, and the place where it grew. Then Alexander, when he awoke, had search made for the plant and discovered it. This he ground into a powder, which he not only laid as a plaster on Ptolemy's body, but also administered to him

as a potion, and by this means restored him to health. When the valuable properties of the plant became known, the other patients to whom the remedy was applied recovered in like manner. He then laid siege to the capital of the Harmatelioui, a city both of great size and strength. As the inhabitants, however, came to meet him with the symbols of suppliants, and tendered their submission, he dismissed them without enacting any retributive penalty.

#### CHAPTER CIV

Alexander sails down to the mouth of the Indus—Sails back to Tauala (Patala?)—Starts on his march homewards, instructing Nearchus to explore the way with his fleet to the head of the Persian Gulf—Ravages the land of the Oritians and founds another Alexandria.

He then sailed down the stream with his friends to the ocean, and when he had there seen two islands he forthwith offered a sacrifice of great splendour to the gods, casting at the same time many large drinking cups of gold, along with the libations they held, into the bosom of the deep. Having next erected altars to Tethys and Okeanos, he assumed that he had finished the expedition which he had undertaken. He then started on the return voyage, and in sailing up the river came to Tauala, a city of great note, with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. Alexander now burned all the vessels that were worn out, and gave the command of the rest that were still serviceable to Nearchus and some others of his friends, whom he instructed to coast along the shores of the ocean, and after having carefully explored whatever lay on their route, to rejoin him at the mouth of the river Euphrates. He himself with his army traversed a great extent of country, overcoming those who opposed him, and treating humanely those who offered their submission. He thus gained over without any danger being incurred the people called the Arbitai and the inhabitants of Gedrosia. Then, after passing through an extensive waterless tract, of which no inconsiderable part was desert, he reached the borders of Oritis. Here he divided his army into

three parts, giving Ptolemy the command of the first division, and Leonnatus of the second, Ptolemy being commissioned to ravage and plunder the seaboard, and Leonnatus the interior, while the third division, under his own command, devastated the plains towards the hills and the hill country itself. While the fury of war was thus at one and the same time let loose over the whole land, conflagration, pillage, and massacre ran riot in every special locality. The soldiers accordingly soon appropriated a vast amount of booty, while the number of the inhabitants cut off by the sword amounted to many myriads. All the neighbours of these unfortunate tribes, appalled by the destruction which had overtaken them, submitted to the king. But Alexander, who was ambitious to found a city by the seaside, discovered a harbour sheltered from the violence of the waves, and which had a convenient site near it, and he built thereon the city of Alexandria.

## CHAPTER CV

How the Oritians bury their dead—The Ichthyophagoi described—Suffering and losses of the army in the Gedrosian desert—Relief sent by various satraps—  
Leonnatus is attacked by the Oritians.

Alexander having stolen into the country of the Oritai by the passes, quickly reduced the whole of it to submission. The Oritai, while in other respects closely resembling the Indians, have one custom which is different, and altogether staggers belief. It has reference to their treatment of the dead. For when a man dies his relatives, naked and holding spears, carry away his body to the oak-coppices which grow in their country, and having there deposited it, and stripped it of the apparel and ornaments with which it is arrayed, they leave it to be devoured by wild beasts. When they have divided the garments which were worn by the deceased, they sacrifice to the heroes now in the under world, and give an entertainment to the members of his household.

Alexander next advanced towards Gedrosia, following the route along the sea-coast. He encountered on the way an inhospitable and utterly savage tribe, for there the natives let their nails grow without ever cutting them from the day they are born to old age, allow their growth of hair to become matted, have com-

plexions scorched with the heat of the sun, and are dressed with the skins of wild beasts. They subsist on the flesh of whales stranded on their shores. Their habitations they prepare by running up walls, and forming the roofs of the ribs of the whale, these supplying beams of a length of 18 cubits. For covering over the roofs they use instead of tiles the scales of fish. Alexander, in passing through the country of these savages, was much distressed by the scarcity of provisions; but in the next country he entered he fared still worse, for it was desert and bare of everything useful to support life. As many perished from sheer want, the stout hearts of the Macedonians yielded to despondency, and Alexander was overwhelmed with no ordinary grief and anxiety; for it seemed a terrible thing that his men, who surpassed all mankind in bravery and in arms, should perish ingloriously in a desert land and in utter destitution. He therefore despatched messengers post-haste into Partheia, and Drangiane, and Areia, and the other states bordering on the desert, enjoining them to send quickly to the passes of Carmania dromedaries and other beasts of burden laden with food and other necessities. These messengers having rapidly performed the journey to the satraps of these provinces, caused ample supplies of provisions to be conveyed to the appointed place. Alexander had, however, before their arrival lost many of his soldiers from his inability to relieve their wants; and afterwards, when he was on the march, some of the Oritai, having attacked the troops commanded by Leonatus and slain a good many men, escaped scatheless into their own country.

## CHAPTER CVI

Revels of Alexander and the army after escaping from the desert—Officials who had abused their authority called to account—Nearchus visits Alexander at Salmous, and recounts the incidents of his voyage.

When the desert had been crossed with all these painful experiences, he came to an inhabited region which abounded with all things useful. He here allowed his army to recruit its exhausted powers, and then marched forward for seven days with his soldiers splendidly dressed as at a public assembly, while he celebrated a festival to Dionysus heading himself the procession

of the revellers, and, as he led the way, quaffing intoxicating draughts of wine. At the end of all this, having come to learn that many high-placed officials had transgressed all bounds of law by an arbitrary and outrageous exercise of their authority, he decided that not a few of his satraps and generals stood in need of punishment. As the odium in which these leading men were held on account of their scandalous disregard of the law was a matter of public notoriety, many of them who held high posts of command in the army, and whose conscience accused them of outrages and other violations of their duty, became seriously alarmed. Some whose troops consisted of mercenaries revolted from the king, and others who had amassed riches took to flight. The king on hearing this wrote to all the commanders and satraps throughout Asia that immediately after they had read his letter they should dismiss all the mercenaries.

When the king was just at this time staying in a sea-coast town called Salmous, and holding a dramatic exhibition, the officers of the expedition which had been directed to navigate the ocean along its shores put into harbour, and, proceeding straightway to the theatre, saluted Alexander, and gave him an account of their adventures. The Macedonians, delighted to see their old comrades once more among them, marked the event with loud and prolonged cheering, and all the theatre was in a transport of joy that could not be exceeded. The voyagers described how the ocean was subject to the strange vicissitude of the ebbing and flowing of its waters, and that when it ebbed numerous islands were unexpectedly revealed to view at the projections of land along the coast, while at flood tide all these lands just mentioned were again submerged, a full gale blowing meanwhile towards shore, and whitening with foam all the surface of the water. But the strangest part of their story was that they had encountered a great many whales, and these of an incredible size. They were in great dread of these monsters, and at first gave up all hopes of life, thinking they might at any moment be consigned, boats and all, to destruction; but when, on recovering from their panic, they raised a simultaneous shout, which they increased by rattling their arms and sounding the trumpets, the creatures took alarm at the strange noise, and sank to the depths below.



## CHAPTER CVII

Kalanos, the Indian philosopher, immolates himself—  
Alexander marries the daughter of Darius.

When the king had heard their story to the end, he ordered the leaders of the expedition to sail up to the mouth of the Euphrates. At the head of his army he traversed himself a great stretch of country, and arrived on the borders of Sousiana. About that time Kalanos, the Indian who had made great progress in philosophy, and was held in honour and esteem by Alexander, brought his life to an end in a most singular manner; for when he was three years over three score and ten, and up till then had never known what illness was, he resolved to depart this life as one who had received the full measure of happiness alike from nature and from fortune. He was now, however, afflicted with a malady which became daily more and more burdensome, and he therefore requested the king to prepare for him a great funeral pyre, and to order his servants to set fire to it as soon as he should ascend it. Alexander at first tried to divert him from his purpose, but when he found that all his remonstrances were unavailing, he consented to do him the service asked. Orders were accordingly given for doing the work, and when the pyre was ready the whole army attended to witness the extraordinary spectacle. Then Kalanos, following the rules prescribed by his philosophy, stepped with unflinching courage on to the summit of the pyre, and perished in the flames which consumed it. Some of the spectators condemned the man for his madness, others for the vanity shown in his act of hardihood, while some admired his spirit and contempt of death. The king honoured him with a sumptuous funeral, and then, proceeded to Sousa, where he married Stateira, the elder of the two daughters of Darius.

## E. JUSTIN

Justin (Junianus Justinus), Roman historian, probably flourished during the age of the Antonines, but nothing is definitely known about his date. His historical work entitled *Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV* is a kind of anthology—a collection of the most important and interesting passages—extracted from the forty-four volumes published by Pompeius Trogus on Philip-pic (i.e. Macedonian) history. In these volumes are “contained the *res gestae* of all ages, kings, nations and peoples”. Pompeius Trogus flourished during the reign of Augustus (first century B.C.), and hence the statements made by Justin may be referred to that age.

The extract below is reproduced from M-I. There are several complete English translations of Justin's work, the latest being that by J. S. Watson (1853).

## J U S T I N

## HISTORIARUM PHILIPPICARUM OF JUSTINUS

## TWELFTH BOOK

## CHAPTER VII

Alexander visits Nysa and Mount Merus—Receives the submission of Queen Cleophis and captures the Rock (Aornus).

After this he advanced towards India that he might make the ocean and the remotest East the limits of his empire. In order that the decorations of his army might be in keeping with this grandeur, he overlaid the trappings of the horses and the arms of his soldiers with silver. He then called the army his argyraspids, because the shields they carried were inwrought with silver. When he had reached the city of Nysa, and found that the inhabitants offered no resistance, he ordered their lives to be spared, from a sentiment of reverence towards Father Bacchus, by whom the city had been founded; at the same time congratulating himself that he had not only undertaken a military expedition like that god, but had even followed his very footsteps. He then led his army to view the sacred mountain, which the genial climate had mantled over with vine and ivy, just as if husbandmen had with industrious hands laboured to make it the perfection of beauty. Now the army on reaching the mountain, in a sudden access of devout emotion, began to howl in honour of the god, and to the amazement of the king

ran unmolested all about the place, so that he perceived that by sparing the citizens he had not so much served their interests as those of his own army. Thence he marched to the Daedali mountains and the dominions of Queen Cleophis, who, after surrendering her kingdom, purchased its restoration by permitting the conqueror to share her bed, thus gaining by her fascinations what she had not gained by her valour. The offspring of this intercourse was a son whom she called Alexander, the same who afterwards reigned as an Indian king. Queen Cleophis, because she had prostituted her chastity, was thereafter called by the Indians the royal harlot. When Alexander after traversing India had come to a rock of a wonderful size and ruggedness, unto which many of the people had fled for refuge, he came to know that Hercules had been prevented from capturing that very rock by an earthquake. Being seized, therefore, with an ambitious desire of surpassing the deeds of Hercules, he made himself master of the rock with infinite toil and danger, and then received the submission of all the tribes in that part of the country.

## CHAPTER VIII

Alexander conquers Porus—Builds Nicaea and Boucephala, and reduces the Adrestae, Gesteani, Praesidae, and Gangaridae—Advances to the Cuphites (Beas), beyond which the army refuses to follow him—He agrees to return, and leaves memorials of his progress.

One of the Indian kings called Porus, a man remarkable alike for his personal strength and noble courage, on hearing the report about Alexander, began to prepare war against his coming. Accordingly, when hostilities broke out, he ordered his army to attack the Macedonians, from whom he demanded their king, as if he was his private enemy. Alexander lost no time in joining battle, but his horse being wounded at the first charge, he fell headlong to the ground, and was saved by his attendants who hastened up to his assistance. Porus again, when fainting from the number of his wounds, was taken prisoner. His defeat he took so much to heart that when he had received quarter from the victor, he neither wished to take food nor would allow his wounds to be attended to, and indeed could scarcely be induced to wish for

life. Alexander, out of respect for his valour, restored him in safety to his sovereignty. There he built two cities, one which he called Nicaea, and the other Boucephala, after the name of his horse. Moving thence he conquered the Adrestae, the Gesteani, the Praesidae, and the Gangaridae, after defeating their armies with great slaughter. When he reached the Cuphites, where the enemy awaited him with 200,000 cavalry, his soldiers, worn out not less by the number of their victories than by their incessant toils, all besought him with tears to bring at last the war to a close—besought him to have some remembrance of his native country and the duty of returning to it—to have some consideration for the years of his soldiers, to whom scarcely so much of life now remained as would suffice them for returning home. Some pointed to their hoary hair, others to their wounds, others to their bodies withered with age or seamed with scars. None, they said, except themselves had brooked a continuous service under two kings, Philip and Alexander; and now at last they entreated he would send them home where their bodies, wasted as they were to skeletons, might be buried in the tombs of their fathers, seeing it was from no want of will they failed to second his wishes, but from the incapacity of age. If, however, he would not spare his soldiers, he should at all events spare himself, and not wear out his good fortune by subjecting it to too severe a strain. Alexander was moved by these well-grounded entreaties, and, as if he had now reached the goal of victory, ordered a camp to be made of an unusual size and splendour, in order that the work, while calculated to terrify the enemy by its vastness, might be left to render himself an object of admiration to future ages. Never did the soldiers apply themselves with such alacrity to any work as they did to this; and when it was finished they retraced their way to the parts whence they had come as joyfully as if they were returning from a field of victory.

## CHAPTER IX

Alexander sailing down the Panjab rivers to the ocean, reduces the Hiacensanae, Silei, Ambri, and Sigambri—He is dangerously wounded in attacking one of their strongholds.

From thence Alexander proceeded to the river Acesines<sup>1</sup> and

sailed down stream towards the ocean. On his way he received the submission of the *Hiacenasanae* and the *Silei* whom *Hercules* had founded. Sailing onward, he came to the *Ambri* and the *Sigambri*, who opposed him with an army of 80,000 foot and 60,000 cavalry. Having defeated them, he led his army to their capital. On his observing from the wall, which he was himself the first to mount, that the city was left without defenders, he leaped down without any attendant into the level space at the foot of the wall. Then the enemy, noticing that he was alone, rushed together with loud shouts from all quarters of the city to finish, if possible, the wars that embroiled the world, by one man's death, and give the many nations he had attacked their revenge. Alexander made an obstinate resistance, and single-handed fought against thousands. It surpasses belief to tell how neither the multitude of his assailants, nor the ceaseless storm of their missiles, nor their savage yells made him quail and how, alone as he was, he slew and put thousands to flight. When at last he saw that he was being overpowered by numbers, he placed his back against the stem of a tree which grew near the wall, and by this means protected himself till, after he had for a long time stood at bay, his danger became at length known to his friends, who forthwith leaped down from the wall to his assistance. Of these many were slain in the act of defending him, and the issue of the conflict remained doubtful till the walls were thrown down and the whole army came to his rescue. In this battle Alexander was pierced by an arrow under the pap, but even while he was fainting from the loss of blood he sank on his knee, and continued fighting till he slew the man by whom he had been wounded. The operation required for curing his wound threw him into a deadlier swoon than the wound itself had produced.

## CHAPTER X

Alexander reaches the city of King *Ambigerus* (*Sambus*?)—*Ptolemy* is there wounded by a poisoned arrow—An antidote to the poison is revealed to Alexander in a dream—He sails down to the mouth of the *Indus*—Founds *Barce*—Leaves *India* and returns to *Babylon*.

His safety was for a time despaired of, but having at last

recovered he sent Polyperchon with part of the army to Babylon. Having himself embarked with a very select company of his friends, he made a voyage along the shores of the ocean. On his reaching the city of King Ambigerus the inhabitants who had heard that he was invulnerable by steel, armed their arrows with poison, which thus inflicted a double wound. With this deadly weapon they killed great numbers of the enemy and repulsed them from the walls. Among many others that were wounded was Ptolemy, but he was rescued from danger just when he appeared to be dying, as soon as he had swallowed a potion prepared from a particular herb which had been revealed to the king in a vision as being an antidote to the poison. The greater part of the army was saved by the same remedy. Alexander having taken the city by storm poured out a libation to the ocean, praying at the same time for a prosperous return to his own country. He was then carried down with the tide in his favour to the mouth of the river Indus. And then like a victor who had triumphantly driven his chariot round the goal, he fixed the frontiers of his empire, having advanced till the deserts at the world's end barred his farther progress by land, and till seas were no longer navigable. As a monument of his achievements he founded in those parts the city of Barce. He erected altars also, and on departing, left one of his friends to be governor of the maritime Indians. As he intended to march homewards by land, and had learned that his route would lie through arid wastes, he ordered wells to be dug at convenient places. Since these were found to yield a copious supply of water he effected his return to Babylon.

## FIFTEENTH BOOK

### CHAPTER IV

Seleucus Nicator subjugates the Bactrians and enters India—The history of Sandrocottus who was then King of India—Seleucus makes a treaty of peace with him and returns to the West.

Seleucus Nicator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subju-

gated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his perfects to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of the liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus,<sup>2</sup> and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers,<sup>3</sup> he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.

## FOOTNOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a mistake for the Hydaspes.

<sup>2</sup> *Nandram* (Nanda) has been here substituted for the common reading *Alexandrum* (Alexander) on the authority of Gutschmid (cf. M-I, p. 327, fn. 1). But the original reading is now looked upon as the correct one (R.C.M.).

<sup>3</sup> 'Mercenary soldier' would be a better translation (R.C.M.).

## F. PLUTARCH

Plutarch (c. A. D. 46-120) was born at Chaeronea, a little town in Boeotia (Greece). He was trained in philosophy at Athens and travelled widely in Egypt and Italy. He stayed for some time at Rome and was engaged as a tutor to Hadrian. Trajan bestowed consular rank on him and he was appointed Procurator of Greece by Hadrian. He was for many years a priest of Apollo at Delphi\*. His fame and popularity mainly rest on his forty-six *Parallel Lives* (of the Famous Men of Greece and Rome) which deals, in successive books, of authentic biographies in pairs, taking together a Greek and a Roman. In addition to this celebrated work, he wrote more than sixty essays. These voluminous and varied writings are known under the common term *Opera Moralia*. Two of them are orations *About the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*.

The account of Alexander's campaign in India, contained in his life of Alexander (*Parallel Lives*), as well as some scattered notices about Alexander from his other writings are reproduced below, the first from M-I and the second from M-V (206).

There are two complete translations of *Parallel Lives* in English, one by Aubrey Stewart and George Long in four volumes (London, 1880 etc), and the other in "The Outline of Knowledge" Series, edited by James A. Richards.

## I.—PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF ALEXANDER

## CHAPTER LVIII

## Alexander at Nysa.

When the Macedonians were hesitating to attack the city called Nysa, because the river which ran past it was deep, "Unlucky man that I am", Alexander exclaimed, "why did I not learn to swim?" and so saying he prepared to ford the stream. After he had withdrawn from the assault, envoys arrived from the besieged with an offer to surrender. They were at first surprised to find him clad in his armour, and still stained with the dust and blood of battle. A cushion was then brought to him, which he requested the eldest of the envoys to take and be seated. This man was called Akouphis, and he was so much struck with the splendour and courtesy with which he was received that he asked what his countrymen must do to make him their friend. Alexander replied "They must make you their governor, and send me a hundred of their best men". At this Akouphis laughed, and said, "Methinks, O King! I should rule better if, instead of the best, you took the worst".

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\* Stewart's Translation, p. xxxi.



## CHAPTER LIX

Interchange of civilities between Alexander and Taxiles  
—Alexander breaks his faith with Indian mercenaries,  
and hangs some Indian philosophers.

Taxiles, it is said, ruled over a part of India which was as large as Egypt, afforded good pasturage, and had a very fertile soil. He was a shrewd man, and after he had embraced Alexander, said to him : "Why should we two, Alexander, fight with one another if you have come to take away from us neither our water nor our necessary food—the only things about which sensible men ever care to quarrel and fight. As for anything else, call it money or call it property, if I am richer than you, what I have is at your service; but if I have less than you, I would not object to stand debtor to your bounty". Alexander was delighted with what he said, and, giving him his right hand in token of his friendship, exclaimed: "Perhaps you think from the friendly greetings we have exchanged our intercourse will be continued without a contest. There you are mistaken, for I will war to the knife with you in good offices, and will see to it that you do not overcome me in generosity". Alexander, therefore, after having received many presents from Taxiles, and given him more in return, at last drank to his health, and accompanied the toast with the present of a thousand talents of coined money. This act of his greatly vexed his friends, but made him stand higher in favour with many of the barbarians. As the Indian mercenary troops, consisting, as they did, of the best soldiers to be found in the country, flocked to the cities which he attacked and defended them with great vigour, he thus incurred serious losses, and accordingly concluded a treaty of peace with them; but afterwards, as they were going away, set upon them while they were on the road, and killed them all. This rests as a foul blot on his martial fame, for on all other occasions he observed the rules of civilised warfare as became a king. The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, because they reviled the princes who declared for him and encouraged the free states to revolt from his authority. On this account he hanged many of them.

## CHAPTER LX

The account of the battle with Porus, as given by Alexander himself—Alexander's noble treatment of Porus.

How the war against Porus was conducted he has described in his own letters. He tells us that the river Hydaspes ran between the two camps, and that Porus with his elephants which he had posted with their heads towards the stream, constantly guarded the passage. Alexander himself, day after day, caused a great noise and disturbance to be made in his camp, in order that the barbarians might be gradually led to view his movements without alarm. At last, upon a dark and stormy night, he took a part of the infantry and a choice body of cavalry, marched to a considerable distance from the enemy, and crossed over to an island of no great size. Here he was exposed with his army to the rage of a violent thunderstorm, amid which rain fell down in torrents, and though he saw some of his men struck dead with the lightning, he nevertheless advanced from the island and reached the furthestmost bank of the river. The Hydaspes was now flooded by the rains, and its raging current had chosen a new channel of great width, down which a great body of water was carried. In fording this new bed, he could with difficulty keep his footing, as the bottom was very slippery and uneven. It was here that Alexander is said to have exclaimed, "O Athenians! can you believe what dangers I undergo to earn your applause?" This particular rests on the authority of Onesicritus, for Alexander himself merely says that he and his men left their rafts, and under arms waded through the second torrent with the water up to their breasts. After crossing, he himself rode forward about twenty stadia in advance of the infantry, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry only, he could easily rout them; but if they moved forward their entire force, he could bring his infantry into the field before fighting began. He was right in both conclusions, for he fell in with 1,000 horse and 60 war-chariots of the enemy, and these he routed, capturing every chariot, and slaying 400 of the horsemen. Porus thus perceived that Alexander himself had crossed the river, and he therefore advanced against him with all his army, except some troops which he left to guard his camp, in case the Macedonians

should cross from the opposite bank to attack it. Alexander, dreading the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy did not engage with them in front, but attacked them himself on the left wing, ordering Coenus to fall upon on the right. Both wings were broken and the enemy, driven from their position, thronged always towards the centre where the elephants were posted. The contest, which began early in the morning, was so obstinately maintained that it was fully the eighth hour of the day before the Indians renounced all attempts at further resistance. This description of the battle is given by the chief actor in it himself in his letters. Most historians are agreed that Porus stood four cubits and a span high, and that his gigantic form was not less proportioned to the elephant which carried him and which was his biggest, than was a rider of an ordinary size to his horse. This elephant showed wonderful sagacity and care for its royal master, for while it was still vigorous it defended him against his assailants and repulsed them, but when it perceived that he was ready to sink from the number of his wounds and bruises, fearing that he might fall off its back, it gently lowered itself to the ground, and as it knelt quietly extracted the darts from his body with its trunk. When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," answered Porus. When Alexander further asked if he had anything to request, "Every thing", rejoined Porus, "is comprised in the words, like a king". Alexander then not only reinstated Porus in his kingdom with the title of satrap, but added a large province to it, subduing the inhabitants whose form of government was the republican. This country, it is said, contained 15 tribes, 5,000 considerable cities, and villages without number. He subdued besides another district three times as large, over which he appointed Philippus, one of his friends, to be satrap.

## CHAPTER LXI

### Death of Boukephalas, and Alexander's regret at his loss.

After the battle with Porus, Boukephalas died, not immediately, but some time afterwards, from wounds which he received in the engagement. This is the account which most historians give, but Onesicritus says that he died of old age and overwork,

for he had reached his thirtieth year. Alexander deeply regretted his loss, taking it as much to heart as if it had been that of a faithful friend and companion. He founded a city in his honour on the banks of the Hydaspes, and named it Boukephalia. It is also recorded that when he lost a pet dog called Peritas, which he had brought up, and of which he was very fond, he founded a city and called it by the name of this dog. Sotion tells us that he had heard this from Potamon of Lesbos.

## CHAPTER LXII

The army refuses to advance to the Ganges—Alexander preparing to retreat erects altars which were afterwards held in veneration by the Praisian kings—  
The opinion of Androkottus.

The battle with Porus depressed the spirits of the Macedonians, and made them very unwilling to advance farther into India. For as it was with the utmost difficulty they had beaten him when the army he led amounted only to 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, they now most resolutely opposed Alexander when he insisted that they should cross the Ganges. This river, they heard, had a breadth of two and thirty stadia, and a depth of 100 fathoms, while its farther banks were covered all over with armed men, horses, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandaritai and the Praisiai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants. Nor was this any exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androcottus,<sup>1</sup> who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleucus with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Alexander at first in vexation and rage withdrew to his tent, and shutting himself up lay there feeling no gratitude towards those who had thwarted his purpose of crossing the Ganges; but regarding a retreat as tantamount to a confession of defeat. But being swayed by the persuasions of his friends, and the entreaties of his soldiers who stood weeping and lamenting at the door of his tent, he at last relented, and prepared to retreat. He first, however, contrived many unfair devices to exalt his fame among the natives, as for instance, causing arms for men and stalls and bridles for

horses to be made much beyond the usual size, and these he left scattered about. He also erected altars for the gods which the kings of the Praisiai even to the present day hold in veneration, crossing the river to offer sacrifices upon them in the Hellenic fashion. Androcottus himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin.

### CHAPTER LXIII

Alexander starts on a voyage down stream reducing tribes by the way—He is dangerously wounded in the capital of the Malloi—Extraction of the arrow from his wound—His recovery.

After marching thence Alexander, who wished to see the outer ocean, ordered many rafts and vessels managed with oars to be built, and he then fell down the rivers in a lesiurely manner. But the voyage was neither an idle one nor unattended with warlike operations, for at times he disembarked, and attacking the cities which adjoined the banks succeeded in subduing them all. But he very nearly lost his life when he was amongst the people called the Malloi, who were said to be the most warlike of all the Indians. For in besieging their city, after he had driven the defenders from the walls by volleys of missiles, he was the first man to ascend a scaling ladder and reach the summit of the wall. Just then the ladder broke, so that he was left almost alone, and as the barbarians who were standing at the foot of the wall inside shot at him from below, he was repeatedly hit with their missiles. He therefore poised himself and leaped down into the midst of his enemies, alighting by good chance on his feet. The flashing of his arms as he brandished them made the barbarians think that lightning or some supernatural splendour played round his person and they therefore drew back and dispersed. But when they saw that he was attended by two followers only, some of them attacked him at close-quarters with swords and spears, while one man, who stood a little farther off, shot an arrow from his bow at full bent, and with such force that it

pierced through his corselet and lodged itself in the bones of his breast. As he staggered under the blow and sank upon his knees, the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peukestas and Limnaois placed themselves before Alexander to protect him; both of them were wounded, one of them mortally; but Peukestas, who survived, continued to make some resistance, while the king slew the Indian with his own hand. Alexander was wounded in many places; and at last received a blow on his neck from a club, which forced him to lean for support against the wall with his face turned towards the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had come up, crowded round him, and snatching him up, now insensible to all around him, carried him off to his tent. A rumour immediately ran through the camp that he was dead, and his attendants having with great difficulty sawed through the arrow, which had a wooden shaft, were thus able after much trouble to take off his corselet. They had next to extract the barbed head of the arrow which was firmly fixed in one of his ribs. This arrow-head is said to have measured three fingers' breadths in width and four in length. Accordingly, when it was pulled out, he swooned away and was brought very near the gates of death, but he at length revived. When he was out of danger, but still very weak, having for a long time to follow the mode of life most conducive to the restoration of his health, he heard a disturbance outside his tent, and learning that the Macedonians were longing to see him he put on his cloak and went out to them. After sacrificing to the gods, he again moved forward and subdued a great extent of country and many considerable cities that lay on his route.

#### CHAPTER LXIV

##### Alexander's interview with the Indian gymnosophists.

He captured ten of the gymnosophists who had been principally concerned in persuading Sabbas<sup>2</sup> to revolt, and had done much harm otherwise to the Macedonians. These men are thought to be great adepts in the art of returning brief and pithy answers, and Alexander proposed for their solution some hard questions, declaring that he would put to death first the one who did not answer correctly and then the others in order.

He demanded of the first, "Which he took to be the more numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living, for the dead are not".

The second was asked, "Which breeds the largest animals, the sea or the land?" He answered, "The land, for the sea is only a part of it".

The third was asked, "Which is the cleverest of beasts?" He answered, "That with which man is not yet acquainted".

The fourth was asked, "For what reason he induced Sabbas to revolt?" He answered, "Because I wished him to live with honour or die with honour".

The fifth was asked, "Which he thought existed first, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day was first by one day". As the king appeared surprised at this solution, he added, "Impossible questions require impossible answers".

Alexander then turning to the sixth asked him, "How a man could best make himself beloved?" He answered, "If a man being possessed of great power did not make himself to be feared".

Of the remaining three, one being asked "How a man could become a god?" replied, "By doing that which is impossible for a man to do".

The next being asked, "Which of the two was stronger, life or death?" he replied, "Life, because it bears so many evils".

The last being asked, "How long it was honourable for a man to live?" answered, "As long as he does not think it better to die than to live".

Upon this Alexander, turning to the judge, requested him to give his decision. He said they had answered each one worse than the other. "Since such is your judgment", Alexander then said, "you shall be yourself the first to be put to death". "Not so", said he, "O king, unless you are false to your word, for you said that he who gave the worst answer should be the first to die".

## CHAPTER LXV

Onesicritus confers with the Indian gymnosophists Kalanos and Dandamis—Kalanos visits Alexander and shows him a symbol of his empire.

The king then gave them presents and dismissed them to

their homes. He also sent Onesicritus to the most renowned of these sages, who lived by themselves in tranquil seclusion to request that they would come to him. This Onesicritus was a philosopher who belonged to the school of Diogenes the Cynic. He tells us that one of these men called Kalanos ordered him with the most overbearing insolence and rudeness to take off his clothes, and listen naked to his discourse—otherwise he would not enter into conversation with him even if he came from Zeus himself. Dandamis, however, was of a milder temper, and when he had been told about Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes, he said they appeared to him to have been men of genius, but from an excessive deference to the laws had subjected their lives too much to their requirements. But other writers tell us that he said nothing more than this, "For what purpose has Alexander come all the way hither"? Taxilês, however, persuaded Kalanos to visit Alexander. His real name was Sphinês, but as he saluted those whom he met with "Kale", which is the Indian equivalent of "Chairein" (that is, "All hail"), he was called by the Greeks Kalanos. This philosopher, we are told, showed Alexander a symbol of his empire. He threw down on the ground a dry and shrivelled hide and planted his foot on the edge of it. But when it was trodden down in one place, it started up everywhere else. He then walked all round it and showed that the same thing took place wherever he trod, until at length he stepped into the middle, and by doing so made it all lie flat. This symbol was intended to show Alexander that he should control his empire from its centre, and not wander away to its distant extremities.

## CHAPTER LXVI

Alexander visits the island Skilloustis, and sailing thence explores the sea—Sufferings of his army on the march homeward, and extent of its losses—Relief sent by the satraps.

Alexander's voyage down the rivers to the sea occupied seven months. On reaching the ocean he sailed to an island which he himself has called Skilloustis, but which is generally known as Psiltoukis. On landing there he sacrificed to the gods, exploring afterwards the nature of the sea and the coast as far as



he could penetrate. This done, he turned back, after praying to the gods that no man might even overpass the limits which his expedition had reached. He ordered his fleet to sail along the coast, keeping India on the right hand; and he appointed Nearchus to the chief command, with Onesicritus as the master pilot. He himself, returning by land with the army, marched through the country of the Oreitai, where he was reduced to the sorest straits from the scarcity of provisions, and lost such numbers of men, that he hardly brought back from India the fourth part of his military force, though he entered it with 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. Many perished from malignant distempers, wretched food, and scorching heat, but most from sheer hunger, for their march lay through an uncultivated region, inhabited only by some miserable savages, the owners of a small and inferior breed of sheep, accustomed to feed on sea-fish, which gave to their flesh a rank and disagreeable flavour. With great difficulty, therefore, he traversed this desert region in sixty days, and reached Gedrosia, where all the men were at once supplied with abundance of provisions, furnished by the satraps and kings of the nearest provinces.

## CHAPTER LXVII

### Alexander and the army indulge in wild revelry on emerging from the desert.

After he had given his forces some time to recruit, he led them in a joyous revel for seven days through Carmania. He himself sat at table with his companions mounted on a lofty oblong platform drawn by eight horses, and in that conspicuous position feasted continually both by day and night. This carriage was followed by numberless others, some with purple hangings and embroidered canopies, and others screened with over-arching green boughs always fresh gathered, conveying the rest of Alexander's friends and officers crowned with garlands and drinking wine. There was not a helmet, a shield, or a pike to be seen, but all along the road the soldiers were dipping cups, horns, and earthen vessels into great jars and flagons of wine, and drinking one another's healths, some as they went marching forward, and others as they sat by the way. Wherever they passed might be heard the music of the pipe and the flute and the voices of

women singing and dancing and making merry. During this disorderly and dissolute march the soldiers after their cups indulged in ribald jests, as if the god Dionysus himself were present among them and accompanying their joyous procession. Alexander, on reaching the capital of Gedrosia, again halted to refresh his army, and entertained it with feasting and revelry.

## II. EXTRACTS FROM PLUTARCH'S ORATIONS

*Oration I. Concerning the Fortune of Alexander.* 2. Then among the Indians I was everywhere exposed to their blows and the violence of their rage. They wounded me in the shoulder, and the Gandridai<sup>3</sup> in the leg, while among the Maoortes<sup>4</sup> a shaft shot from a bow lodged its iron point in my breast. A club too struck me a blow on the neck, when the ladders which had been applied to the walls broke down, and Fortune thus shut me up, not with antagonists of renown, but with unknown barbarians, a kind of work with which she liberally indulged me. Then had not Ptolemy held over me his buckler—had not Limnaios, overwhelmed with numberless darts, fallen in front of me—had not the Macedonians in the violence of their exasperation torn down the walls, Alexander's sepulchre must needs have been that barbarous and unknown paltry town.

5. Those whom Alexander subdued would never have become civilised unless they had been brought under submission. Egypt would not have had Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia Seleukeia, nor the Sogdians Prophthasia, nor India Boukephalia nor Caucasus Hellenic cities in its neighbourhood, by the influence of which barbarism was crushed and a better morality superseded a worse.

11. It occurs to me to introduce here the saying of Porus; for when he was led as a captive to Alexander, and was asked how he wished to be treated; 'As a king, O Alexander'. he replied, and when he was again asked if there was anything else, his reply was; 'Nothing, for in the words *as a King* everything was comprehended.'

*Oration II.* 9. Among the Malloi an arrow two cubits long penetrated through his (Alexander's) breastplate into his breast, and upwards to his neck, as Aristobulus has recorded.

13, But how did Fortune behave towards Alexander, the subject into which we are inquiring? Why thus, that on the banks

of a river in the remotest corner of a barbarous country, the king and lord of the world, while shut up and hidden from sight within the walls of a contemptible town, should perish smitten and bruised with whatever ignoble weapons and instruments of offence came first to hand, for through his helmet he was wounded on the head by the blow of a bill, and an archer let fly an arrow which transfixing his cuirass and pierced to the bones around his breast and there stuck fast, the shaft as it projected from the wound aggravating the pain, while the iron of the barb measured four fingers in breadth and five in length. But what crowned his sufferings was this, that while he was defending himself in front and had by a timely thrust of his dagger thrown down and slain the man who had wounded him and dared to approach him sword in hand, at that very time a man rushing out from a mill-house with a bill, dealt him from behind a blow on the neck which made him giddy and confused his senses. But valour was at hand producing courage in him, and vigour and prompt action in the friends around him. For Limnaios and Ptolemy and Leonnatus, and such others as had climbed over or broken down the rampart to reach him, stood before him as a wall of valour, exposing, from their friendship and affection towards the king, their persons, their faces, and their lives in his defence. . . The courage, the friendship and the fidelity of these friends were the only help Alexander had then at hand. Between him and his other forces and resources—his fleets, his cavalry, and his armies, Fortune had interposed the wall of the fortress. Nevertheless the Macedonians routed the barbarians, and when they fell, buried them in the ruins of their city. But this brought no relief to Alexander, for he was hurried off with the weapon still fixed in his breast, and he had a war raging within his vitals, for the arrow nailed his cuirass to his body; and when they tried by sheer force to extirpate it, so to speak, from the wound, the iron barb did not yield, being firmly lodged in the breast bones which protect the heart. Nor did they venture to saw off the protruding part of the reed, dreading lest the bone being shaken by the violent agitation should produce an excess of agony and cause blood to burst from the deep-seated veins. The king seeing their perplexity and their backwardness to operate, attempted himself to cut away the arrow at the surface of the cuirass with his scimitar, but his hand was weak, heavy, and numbed by the inflammation of his wound. He therefore

ordered them to set to work and not to fear, thus encouraging those who were not themselves wounded.

#### FOOTNOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The name is usually written as Sandrocottus (see p. 193) and stands for Chandragupta (Maurya).

<sup>2</sup> Evidently the same as Sambus (see p. 77).

<sup>3</sup> Probably stands for the Gandarians in the north-western frontier.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the Malloi.

## G. ITINERARIUM ALEXANDRI M.

It is not known by whom this little work was composed. Its authorship has been claimed for Julius Valerius, an Alexandrian writer of the fourth Christian century, but on grounds quite nugatory. It consists of one hundred and twenty chapters, mostly very short, and is incomplete, as a few of the closing chapters are wanting. It is addressed to the Emperor Constantius, son and successor of Constantine the Great, and was meant for the guidance of that prince in the war against Sapor (or Shahanpur), for which he was then making great preparations. The author has worked out his purpose by presenting a plain and succinct narrative of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, whose example he exhorts Constantius to follow, and thus obtain like glory. Constantius undertook two expeditions against Persia—one in 338 A.D., and the other in 345 A.D. Mai refers the composition of the *Itinerary* to the earlier date, but Letronne has convincingly shown that it must be referred to the later. Its unknown author has been praised for the sound judgment he has shown in selecting the authorities on which he based his account of Alexander's progress through Asia. He seems to have pretty closely followed Arrian's *Anabasis*. His style is terse and very difficult, but not barbarous. After the manner of his age, he uses pretty freely new-fangled terms and modes of expression. I have, as usual, only translated those parts of the work which concern India.

## Section VII

## The itinerary of Alexander the Great.\*

103. Alexander, marching from Bactra, forthwith recrossed Caucasus, the same range which we have called Taurus, whereof it is a continuation, the only change being in the name.

104. In eleven days he effected the passage over this mountain rampart and reached Alexandria. After passing through the country of the Parapapisamides he directed his march towards the Indus by way of the city of Nicaea and the river Cophoen<sup>1</sup>. He was greatly assisted by Taxiles, who at that time held sway over the dominions situated on the frontiers through which the route to be traversed lay. This chief, who was prepared to attempt the passage of the Indus, he sent on in advance along with his own troops<sup>1a</sup>. In the course of the march they captured the leader of the enemy who had been sent to oppose them. So they came to the end of their journey, many other tribes having been put to the sword, and their towns captured.

105. And Alexander, no less actively engaged if any enemy harassed his forces, was scratched on the shoulder by an arrow;

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\* The Introductory Note and the translation are based on M.-V. (pp. 150 ff.).

and when the river Choes<sup>2</sup> had been crossed, all who came in his way were overthrown. Argacum<sup>3</sup>, a town which had been set on fire, and which the citizens thought it hopeless to save, he took care to have rebuilt on account of its commanding position. Finding now his enemies<sup>4</sup> strong in number, he divided his army into three, and defeated them in every pitched battle. At last 230,000 oxen were captured, and these, on account of their beauty, he resolved to send along with the prisoners into Macedonia to cultivate the fields of his men as well as his own.

106. When after this it was found that the Accae tribes<sup>5</sup> had 40,000 men under arms, he crossed the river Guraeus<sup>6</sup> and pressed forward to attack them; but they dispersed themselves into their towns, which had long before been put into a state of defence against this invasion. But in point of fact they sallied out and set upon the Greeks while busily pitching their camp. The Greeks cunningly made a feint of giving way, but afterwards wheeling round, put them to rout. The fugitives shut themselves up within their walls<sup>7</sup>, which were of most formidable strength and equipped with every means of defence. But for the besiegers it was, in sooth, no easy matter to get near men protected by a double ring of ramparts; and there eventually Alexander was wounded in the leg by a shaft from a bow. On the fourth day, however, of the fighting, the king of the place was slain in an action before the walls, and the men surrendered. Alexander was most desirous that they<sup>8</sup> should take service with him, and they agreed to this; but when on being led forth they swerved from their allegiance, they were hemmed in on every side and slain.

107. From this place he despatched Coenon<sup>9</sup>, one of his Generals, to besiege Baziphara, and Attalas to besiege the city Hora, under the belief that after the downfall of the Accae, they would be brought to ready submission. But the people, trusting more to the strength of their position than impressed by the force of the example, held out till Alexander, himself passing their way, without difficulty captured both towns, Baziphara and Hora<sup>10</sup>, in spite of a desperate resistance, and although the men of Baziphara had made an attack upon the strangers, induced by contempt for the paucity of their numbers. After many had however fallen, such as survived fled all to a strongly fortified rock.

108. The rock, occupying a space of 200 stadia in circuit, rose to the height of 10 stadia, had a gentle slope, and was nearly level at the summit, where springs of water abounded, and where

a thousand peasantry had full scope for their industry. Alexander, therefore, on coming to that locality, seized a great many cities. Then when he advanced to the rock and was engaged in laying siege to it, deserters who acted as guides in the difficult attempt went before him as he made the ascent. The result was that those who showed fight were taken prisoners and led off the spoil of the victors.

109. But tidings being brought that the Indians had again with confident ardour by force of arms battered down the walls of the Accae, and had sent away their elephants through the jungles, he marched to the place, and on reaching it, found the walls deserted and the city burned down, while the inhabitants had all dispersed in quest of safer hiding-places. Such being the state of matters, the pursuit of the Indians was entrusted to one part of his forces, and when the elephants they went in quest of had been captured, he came with this division of his army to the Indus, and lost no time in despatching to his other troops which were at a distance those supplies which it was ascertained they would require in their transit.

110. India, taken as a whole, beginning from the north and embracing what of it is subject to Persia, is a continuation of Egypt and the Ethiopians, and is on every side hemmed in by the ocean—that interfluent sea of Hippalus<sup>11</sup>, from which branches off the gulf which shuts in the Persians. Under this name of India is comprehended, you must know, a vast extent of country which breeds a great multitude of races of men, and especially of gigantic beasts, such as elephants and acre-long snakes; for in comparison with these, leopards, lions, or even tigers are tame.

111. Now at that time of which I am speaking, Porus was the ruler of India, a man of astonishing stature, quite transcending that of other men, while in mental capacity he did not fall below the level of the endowments of his outward person. On his learning that Alexander was directing his march towards him, he warned him to keep his distance, but this only more sharply stimulated the foe whom he defied, and in a fierce battle he was defeated and made prisoner. The king was notwithstanding admitted into the circle of Alexander's friends, and, on account of his distinguished merits, had the administration of his kingdom restored to him. Thus it is unquestionably the duty of a man of right principle, who rules a state because he is more powerful than others, equally so to yield it up at once to another who is more powerful than him-

self, since whoever is aware of his own mediocrity has sufficiently done his part by his knowing himself.

112. From thence he proceeds to attack the wide dominions of Pecanus and Musicanus, and annexes them to his sway. His next attempt was the rock called Aornis, which towers to an altitude of forty stadia, and on its upper parts maintains a large body of husbandmen whose wealth is in proportion to the security they enjoy. It derives its name from its being so lofty that even birds cannot fly over it. But, nevertheless, he won this rock also, having assaulted it by fixing pegs in the path which had to be climbed, and by resorting to stratagem.

113. There now arose among his chief officers complaint of the magnitude of the war, because he had forced them to be evermore contending with nations of warlike capacity<sup>12</sup>. With what ardour was he inspired for a conflict with such? But the soldiers, recounting their wounds and their yearnings after their families during an absence of twelve years, begged to be excused undergoing further toils and dangers for this object. As he granted in consequence a period of rest to the outworn, his commands were willingly obeyed. When they were, however, dismissed to fill up vacancies, he ordered others to be sent from Macedonia to supply their place. And thus urged on by his lust of conquest he reached the ocean.

114. On this element also his unbounded ambition displayed itself, since, embarking in boats made of wickerwork, he wished to put nature to the proof and to try what more would be permitted either to himself or to any one who might choose to attempt the same. All of a sudden, through the violence with which the winds were blowing, the tide of the ocean, returning after it had ebbed with more than its usual impetuosity, dashed against the boats, and engulfed the boatmen who were *not*<sup>13</sup> prepared for the shock. Nor was it difficult to see from this that the gods were opposed to his wishes, though for his part he gave out that it was his endeavour to abstain from daring to attempt anything impious. However, he sent Anomarchus and Neon<sup>14</sup>, men of ready daring but who yet dared not refuse the king anything, to circumnavigate the ocean and report their discoveries. The provisions necessary for a long voyage were collected and shipped for the use of such as volunteered to join the expedition.

115. Although Alexander is said to have had an unbending and indomitable control over his appetencies, yet on the following



occasion, as on that just related, he omitted all proper consideration. There was a city in India into which many had fled for refuge—one that was of immense size and of impregnable strength.<sup>15</sup> Alexander, when in the act of besieging it, called for ladders of unusual length, such as were in proportion to the height of the wall; and when the defenders were breaking these when brought up by hurling great pieces of rock down upon them, that ladder alone escaped destruction by which the king with two attendants had succeeded in gaining the top, even though many from above, each to the best of his power, were trying to thrust him down. Then though he had seen all the ladders of his men shattered to pieces, and knew that he would be exposed to danger without any adequate help at hand, he nevertheless flung himself alone as he was into the midst of many thousands of the enemy along with the attendants already mentioned (Peucestas, namely, and Ptolomaeus), and he forthwith brought upon himself the whole populations of that city.

116. So then, seconded by his attendants, he all day long did the fighting of an entire army, and would have held on, were it not that he was wounded in the side at the part highest up, and his strength began to fail, since the steel had pierced far inward. The Macedonians who were fighting outside, conjecturing this, and fearing lest anything worse should befall (for they saw that all the people within the walls were to a man engaged in attacking the king, while no one was posted on the ramparts to prevent any one forcing his way inside), stormed the gates and brought succour to the king just at the critical moment when he was yielding to despair. Then the soldiers, made merciless by rage which added new strength to their arms, forthwith slew all alike without distinction of age or sex, till every soul perished in the massacre.

117. Thereafter the soldiers united in firmly representing to the king that in his battles he should no longer put himself to a wrong use, nor be so lavish of his blood, considering the insignificance of the gain and the magnitude of the loss accruing from the risk, and they obtained his promise that he would no longer do so, but return to Babylon. And this he did, and the Babylonians received him with honour.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> 'Parapapisamides' and 'Cophoen' are improper forms of 'Paropamisadae' and 'Cophen'.

<sup>1a</sup> But only with one division. Alexander himself led the other division, which was more lightly armed, by a more northern route.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Kunar river.

<sup>3</sup> This is the town called by Arrian Arigaion, and described as occupying a very advantageous site.

<sup>4</sup> The Aspasiens. See p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> These must be the Assaceniens. See p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> The Panjkora river.

<sup>7</sup> The walls of Massaga.

<sup>8</sup> Not the people of Massaga, but 7,000 Indian mercenaries who had come to their aid. See p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> This should be Coenus.

<sup>10</sup> The Bazira and Ora of Arrian. See pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> Hippalus was the name of the pilot who, according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Pliny, first discovered the passage to India by means of the south-west monsoon.

<sup>12</sup> This incident is related out of its proper place. The Macedonians had refused to follow Alexander before he had reached the dominions of Musicanus.

<sup>13</sup> The negative is not in the Latin text, but the sense evidently requires it.

<sup>14</sup> Strangely distorted forms of the names of Onesicritus and Nearchus.

<sup>15</sup> This was a stronghold of the Malli. See p. 69.

## H. SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS.\*

Frontinus, who was the Roman Governor of Britain (where he conquered the Silures) from the year A.D. 75 to the year A.D. 78, when he was superseded by Agricola, was the author of two works still extant, one *About the Aqueducts of the City of Rome*, and the other a treatise on the art of war called *Strategemata*, divided into four books, in which the sayings and doings of the great commanders of antiquity are collected. Frontinus died about the year 106 A.D., after having held successively some of the highest offices of the state.

*Strategemata*.—Book I. iv. 9. Alexander of Macedon, when Porus the King of the Indians was preventing his army from crossing the river Hydaspes, ordered his men to be constantly hurrying forth in a direction against the current; and when by this mode of manoeuvring he had succeeded in making Porus vigilant in guarding the opposite bank, he marched suddenly to a point higher up the river and crossed thence with his army to the other side.

This same commander, on finding himself debarred by the enemy from crossing the river Indus, made his cavalry enter the river at different points and threaten to cross it; and while he kept the attention of the barbarians fully absorbed in watching this manoeuvre, he ordered an island at some distance off to be occupied at first with a small, and afterwards with a larger body of troops, which he then sent over from the island to the farther bank.<sup>1</sup> Now, when the enemy in one mass had rushed forward to crush this detachment, he crossed the river by an undefended ford and placed himself at the head of his whole force.

Book II. v. 17. Alexander of Macedonia, on finding the enemy encamped on a high mountain-pass, took with him a part of his troops, and instructed those left behind to kindle as many fires as usual, to make it appear as if the whole army were still present.

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\* The Introductory Note and the translation are based on M.-V. p. 208.

<sup>1</sup> This is applicable to the crossing of the Hydaspes, not the Indus.

## III. INDICA

by  
ARRIAN

## INTRODUCTION \*

Arrian, who variously distinguished himself as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nikomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He became a pupil of the philosopher Epiktetos, whose lectures he published. Having been appointed prefect of Kappadokia under the Emperor Hadrian, he acquired during his administration a practical knowledge of the tactics of war in repelling an attack made upon his province by the Alani and Messagetæ. His talents recommended him to the favour of the succeeding Emperor, Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of work on history, to which he was led by his admiration of Xenophon. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great,<sup>1</sup> which is remarkable alike for the accuracy of its narrative, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness, if not the perfect purity, of its style. His work on India may be regarded as a continuation of his *Anabasis*, though it is not written, like the *Anabasis*, in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesias of Knidos.

The *Indika* consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India, based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchus the Cretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchus himself (chaps. xviii.—xlii.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xliii to the end.).

## THE INDIKA OF ARRIAN

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Cophen, by two Indian tribes, the As-takenoi and the Assakenoi, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus the son of Cambyses the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed. The Nysaioi, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysus,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which

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\* This Introduction and the Text that follows are based on M-II. For a short account of Arrian cf. above, p. 5

Dionysus waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysus, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysaia, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Meros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysus are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assaceni there is a great city called Massaga, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Peucelaitis, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the Cophen.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India *so defined* are formed by Mount Taurus, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Taurus begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in a third Imaos, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Caucasus,—this being another Caucasus and distinct from the Scythian so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Caucasus.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the Ister (Danube), but diverge like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks,

but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouths and the city of Palimbothra, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

III. *I shall now state the dimensions of India*, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Cyrenê as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes made its circuit a subject of special inquiry. He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount Taurus, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia. But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of Taurus and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by *schoeni*, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But Ktesias of Knidos says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while Onesicritus as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. Nearchus, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while **Megasthenes**, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, though others call this its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the Ganges and the Indus, from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian Ister even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the Acesines is greater than either the Ister or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the Hydaspes and the Hy-

draotes, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the Hyphasis, since the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. **Megasthenes** states that of the two the Ganges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Ganges agree with him; for, besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Kainas, and the Eran-noboas, and the Kossoanos, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonos and the Sittokatis, and the Solomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Kondochates, and the Sambos, and the Magon, and the Agoranis, and the Omalis. Moreover there fall into it the Kommenases, a great river, and the Kakouthis, and the Andomatis, which flows from the dominions of the Madyandinoi, an Indian tribe. In addition to all these, the Amystis, which flows past the city Katadupa, and the Oxymagis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazalai, and the Errenysis from the Mathai, an Indian tribe, unite with the Ganges. Regarding these streams **Megasthenes** asserts that none of them is inferior to the Maiandros, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the Ganges, it has a breadth where narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydraotes, flowing from the dominions of the Kambistholi, falls into the Acesines after receiving the Hyphasis in its passage through the Astrybai, as well as the Saranges from the Kekians, and the Neudros from the Attakenoi. The Hydaspes again, rising in the dominions of the Oxydrakai, and bringing with it the Sinaros, received in the dominion of the Arispai, falls itself into the Acesines, while the Acesines joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malloi, but not until it has received the water of a great tributary, the Toutapos. Augmented by all these confluent waters, the Acesines succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus. The Cophen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Peucelaitis, and bringing with it the Malantos, and the Soastos, and the Garroia. Higher up than these, the

Parenos and Saparnos, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soanos, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abissareans. According to **Megasthenes** most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Ister and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Ister, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many confluent, still these are neither equal in number to the confluent of the Indus and Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Ister where the Noricans march with the Rhaetians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurunum. Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for **Megasthenes** has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight-and-fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even **Megasthenes** so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip, for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porus, who was still greater than he. This same **Megasthenes** then informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians: for Sesostri the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthysos the Skythian issuing from Skythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design; and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And re-



garding Dionysus many traditions are current to the effect that he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Heracles tradition does not say much. Of the expedition, however, which Bacchus led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Heracles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Heracles was not able to take the rock Aornus, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisus—Caucasus, though it had no connexion at all with Caucasus. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisadai, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibai, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibai were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Heracles and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibai carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Heracles: But if any one believes all this, then this must be another Heracles,—not the Theban, but either the Tyrian or the Egyptian, or even some great king who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let this *be said by way of* a digression to discredit the accounts which some writers have given of the Indians beyond the Hyphasis, for those writers who were in Alexander's expedition are not altogether unworthy of our faith when they describe India as far as the Hyphasis. *Beyond that limit we have no real knowledge of the country*; since this is the sort of account which **Megasthenes** gives us of an Indian river:—Its name is the Silas; it flows from a fountain, called after the river, through the dominions of the Silaeans, who again are called after the river and the fountain; the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsub-

stantial as this water. But *to proceed*. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisos and Emodos and the range of Imaos, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of mid-summer to retreat in haste from the Acesines, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of Ethiopia, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its mouth by the force of the Etesian winds which blow throughout the hot season, and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike Ethiopia. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Ethiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile, with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesikritus asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Ethiopians, though the Indians, no doubt, who live in the southwest bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they are not so snub-nosed nor have the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person liker the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, **Megasthenes** tells us, number in all 118. And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor

worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech *tala*,<sup>2</sup> and that there grew on them, as there grows at the top of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysus into India. Dionysus, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemos, when he was sent by Dêmêter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysus who came to India before Triptolemos, and gave the people the seeds of cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysus himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *Kordax*; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents, so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bacchic matters, to be the king of the country. When Spatembas died his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty; the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; Heracles, however, who is currently reported to have *come as a stranger* into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India. This Heracles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoï, an Indian

tribe who possess two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares. But the dress which this Heracles wore, **Megasthenes** tells us, resembled that of the Theban Heracles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaia, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Heracles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pandaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Heracles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring us their wares eagerly buy up and carry away to foreign markets, while it is even more eagerly bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*. But Heracles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the seas into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

**Megasthenes** informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in these same parts the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Heracles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Heracles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man his equal in rank to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was

seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Heracles therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandaia reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Heracles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for men who come so much sooner to old age, and with old age to death, must of course flower into full manhood as much earlier as their life ends earlier. It follows hence that men of thirty would there be in their green old age, and young men would at twenty be past puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when **Megasthenes** declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established \* \* \* and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood, for were they built of brick they would not last long—so destructive are the rains,

and also the rivers when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains; those cities, however, which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud. The greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas<sup>3</sup> and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. **Megasthenes** says further of this city that the inhabited part of it stretched on either side to an extreme length of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six *plethra* in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with five hundred and seventy towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedaimonians and the Indians here so far agree. The Lakedaimonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But further : in India the whole people are divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sophists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to com-

pel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow whereof Nearchus says extends to five plethra in circuit, adding that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands; hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds; and these neither live in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handicraftmen and retail-dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that

they can with ease maintain themselves and others besides.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-marriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sophist only be from any caste: for the life of the sophist is not an easy one but the hardest of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any others. The mode may be thus described :—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground dig a trench all round it, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge



as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night-time they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained, elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but, though they ride up to it, they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst; when they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew and ride into the enclosure, when a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those that have been entrapped, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out and they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady: for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. But such as are too young, or through the weakness of their constitution not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which are retained they

lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have taken up their riders when slain in battle and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles besides their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps up upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and

larger than other jackals. In the same way with regard to ants, also, Nearchus says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But **Megasthenes** avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now **Megasthenes** writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant. But about parrots Nearchus writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what-like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, too, Nearchus tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which Peitho the son of Antigenês caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if any one were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. With many bodily pains, however, the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. In the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sophists, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us,—cotton produced from those trees of which

mention has already been made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head. The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Nearchus tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are

attached. When the rider, then, pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third; while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all. But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from a virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the sex that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearchus and **Megasthenes**, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This book, referred to later as *Anabasis*, has been translated above (pp. 5 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Evidently fan-palm.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Greek form of 'Hiranyabaha', an old name of the Son river.

## IV. DIODORUS SICULUS

## I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF INDIA (Book II)

For an account of this author see p. 162 above.

The Extract I, reproduced below, is based on the English translation of McCrindle (M-II, pp. 30ff.) who, following Dr. Schwanbeck, regards it as an epitome of Megasthenes. There is, however, no valid ground for this claim (See Appendix I). The Extract II is based upon M-II, pp. 36-37 and M-V, pp. 201-205). There is an English translation of the whole work of Diodorus by C. H. Oldfather, published in 1935. McCrindle's translation of Extract I has been corrected in the light of this work. The portion, so corrected, has been marked with an asterisk.

II. 35. India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its southern\* side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000. Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility, which are remarkable for their beauty, and are supplied with water\* by a multitude of rivers. The greater part of the soil, moreover, is well watered\* and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

36. The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, are of unusual height and bulk of body.\* They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of

men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of superior quality,\* and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most are native to the country.\* The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible fruits\* fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *bosporum*, as well as sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested.<sup>1</sup> Besides,

they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

37. India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges.

Now this river, which\* is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses the greatest number of elephants and the largest in size.\* Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. Thus Alexander the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai, as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war. Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms\* the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupanis, the Hudaspes, and the Acesines. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficients in natural science advance the following reasons:—They say that the countries which surround India—those of the Skythians and Baktrians, and also of Ariana\*—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeable to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India, —that called the Sillas, which flows from a spring\* bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.



38. It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner *as with them*, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented, Necessity herself teaching them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

The men of greatest learning among the Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary. They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in clan\* villages, Dionysus made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionysus being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the springs\*, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionysus restored his troops to health was called Meros; from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysus was bred in *his father's thigh*. Having after this turned his attention to the storing of the fruits,\* he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He became the founder of notable cities by gathering the villages together in well-situated regions,\* while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women, and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented; and that after

reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

39. Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionysus and his descendants current among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country. They further assert that Heracles was\* born among them. They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen. He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra. He built therein a costly palace,\* and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river. Heracles, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. At last, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the principle of equality in all persons\*: for those, *they thought*, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: since it is silly to make laws on the basis of equality of all persons and yet to establish inequalities in social intercourse.\*

40. The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the *first* is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers, which in point of number is inferior to the other

classes, but in point of dignity prominent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead: for they are *believed* to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, since they are invited at the beginning of the year to the Great Synod and\* forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

The *second* caste consists of the Husbandmen, who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

The *third* caste consists of the Neatherds and Shepherds, and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they are bringing India under cultivation although it still abounds in many wild beasts\* and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.

41. The *fourth* caste consists of the Artizans. Of these

some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

The *fifth* caste is the Military. It is well organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to relaxation\* and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king's expense.

The *sixth* caste consists of the Inspectors.\* It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

The *seventh* caste consists of the Councillors and Assessors,—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.<sup>2</sup>

Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.

42. India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass *those found elsewhere* both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen. Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young at a time, and this the dam suckles for six years. Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them. What we have now said regarding India and its antiquities will suffice for our present purpose.

II. INCIDENTAL NOTICES

III. 63. Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name,<sup>3</sup> who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lēnaios. This same Dionysus, however, they call also Katapôgôn, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of their life. Dionusos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lēnaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

XVIII. 6, Among the southern countries the first under Kaukasos is India, a kingdom remarkable for its vast extent and the largeness of its population, for it is inhabited by very many nations, among which the greatest of all is that of the Gandaridai against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of their elephants. This region is separated from farther India by the greatest river in those parts (for it has a breadth of thirty stadia), but it adjoins the rest of India which Alexander had conquered, and which was well watered by rivers and highly renowned for its prosperous and happy condition. It contained, along with many other kingdoms, the realms subject to Porus and Taxiles, through which flows the river Indus, from which the country takes its name.

39. Antipater then divided the Satrapies anew . . . and gave India, which bordered on the Paropamisadai, to Pythôn, the son

of Agenor, and of the adjacent kingdoms he gave that which lay along the Indus to Porus, and that along the Hydaspes to Taxiles<sup>4</sup>, for it was impossible to remove these kings without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general.

XIX. 27. Eumenês on the left wing posted Eudamus, who had brought the elephants from India, and commanded a division of cavalry 150 strong.<sup>5</sup>

30. When Eumenês was interring the slain with splendid obsequies, a marvellous thing occurred, of a nature quite contrary to what is customary among the Greeks. For Kêteus, the commander of those who had come from India, was killed in the battle when fighting gloriously, and he left two wives who had accompanied him in the expedition, one lately married, while the other had been for a few years his helpmate, but both of them devotedly attached to him. Now, it was an ancient law among the Indians that when youngmen and maiden were minded to wed, they did not marry according to the judgement of their parents, but by mutual consent. But when in these old times espousals were made between persons of immature age, mistakes of judgement were of frequent occurrence, and when both sides repented their union, many of the women became depraved, and through incontinence fell in love with other men, and when at last they wished to leave the husbands they had first chosen, but could not in decency do so openly, they got rid of them by poison, a means of destroying life which they could readily procure in the country, which produces in great quantity and variety drugs of fatal potency, some of which cause death if merely introduced as a powder into food or drink. But when this nefarious practice had become quite prevalent, and many lives had been sacrificed, and when it was found that the punishment of the guilty had no effect in deterring other wives from their career of iniquity, they passed a law ordaining that a wife, unless she were pregnant, or had already borne children, should be burned along with her deceased husband, and that if she did not choose to obey the law that she should remain a widow to the end of her life, and be for ever excommunicated from the sacrifices and other solemnities as being an impious person. When these laws had been enacted, it came to pass that the women changed to the very opposite their disposition to violate their duty, for, since each one willingly submitted to the death ordained, rather than endure the excess of infamy which would attend its refusal, they not only provided for the safety and welfare of their hus-

bands in which their own were equally involved, but they contended with each other for this as the highest of all honours, and this happened in the present instance. For although by the law only one was to be burned with the husband, yet at the funeral of Kêteus each of his wives strove for the honour of dying with him, as if this were the noblest crown of virtue. When the matter was brought to the generals for decision, the younger wife represented that the other was pregnant and could not therefore take advantage of the law. The elder pleaded that as she was before the other in years, she should be preferred before her in honour also; for in every other case it was the rule that more honour and respect should be accorded to the elder than to the younger. The generals being informed by the midwives that the elder was with child, decided in favour of the younger; whereupon the one who lost her cause went away weeping and wailing, rent the veil from her head, and tore her hair as if some terrible news had been told her. The other, overjoyed at her victory, set forth for the funeral pile, crowned with mitres by the women of her house, and richly attired, as if she were going to some marriage festival, escorted by her kindred setting forth in songs the praises of her virtues. When she came near to the pyre she stripped off her ornaments and distributed them to her servants and friends, bequeathing them, so to speak, as tokens of remembrance to those she loved. Her ornaments consisted of a multitude of finger-rings, set with precious stone of divers colours; upon her head there was no small number of little golden stars, between which were placed sparkling stones of all sorts; about her neck she wore many rows of jewels, some small, others large, and increasing in size gradually as they were placed on the string. At length she took farewell of her domestics, and was assisted by her brother to mount the pyre, and, to the great admiration of the people, who ran together to see the spectacle, she made her exit from life in heroic style. For the whole army under arms marched thrice round the pile before fire was set to it, and the victim, having meanwhile laid herself by her husband's side, scorned to demean herself by uttering shrieks, even when the flames were raging around her—a sight which affected the onlookers variously. Some were filled with pity, others were profuse in their praises, while there were not wanting Greeks who condemned the institution as barbarous and inhuman.<sup>6</sup>

Book. I. 11, 12. From Ethiopia he (Osiris)<sup>7</sup> passed

through Arabia, bordering upon the Red Sea as far as to India, and the remotest inhabited coasts; he built likewise many cities in India, one of which he called Nysa, willing to have a remembrance of that (Nysa) in Egypt where he was brought up. At this Nysa in India he planted ivy, which continues to grow here, but nowhere else in India or near it. He left likewise many other marks of his being in those parts, by which the latter inhabitants are induced to believe, and do affirm, that this god was born in India. He likewise addicted himself much to the hunting of elephants, and took care to have statues of himself in every place, as lasting monuments of his expedition.

At the end of the Second Book of his *History*, Diodorus introduces to our notice a Greek author, Iamboulos, who is known to have written a work on the strange forms of the inhabitants of India. We learn regarding him that he was made a slave by the Ethiopians, who sent him away in a boat which carried him to a happy island in the Eastern Seas. His account of the island (supposed to be Ceylon) and its inhabitants, which Diodorus has transcribed at some length, is ludicrously absurd, and makes it doubtful whether Iamboulos had ever been in the east. Lucian in his *Verae Historiae* (i. 3) has therefore put him in the pillory along with Ktesias as a writer of fables. We may cite the passage with which Diodorus concludes his notice of this fiction-monger, as it has reference to India.

After Iamboulos with his companion had continued in this island seven years, they were (as wicked and vile fellows) ejected. Having therefore their ship fitted out and furnished with provisions, they set sail, and after they had continued their voyage for above four months together, they fell at length upon the sandy shallows of India, where Iamboulos's companion was drowned, and he himself afterwards cast upon a certain village, and forthwith carried away by the inhabitants of the place to the king, then at a city called Polibothra,<sup>8</sup> many days' journey from the seas, where he was kindly received by the king, who had a great love for the Grecians, and was very studious in the liberal sciences. At length (having obtained provision from the king) he first sailed into Persia, and thence safely arrived in Greece. This Iamboulos committed all these adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to the affairs of India before unknown to strangers.—Booth's *Translation*.



FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This is supported by Indian tradition. According to *Abhidharma-kosaryakhyā*, kings, while destroying the soldiers, respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies (Cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 369).

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Oldfather translates this para as follows :—

The seventh caste is that of the deliberators and councillors, whose concern is with the decisions which affect the common welfare. In point of number this group is the smallest, but in nobility of birth and wisdom, the most worthy of admiration; for from their body are drawn the advisers for the kings and the administrators of the affairs of state and the judges of disputes, and, speaking generally, they take their leaders and magistrates from among these men.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to Dionysus, mentioned in para 38 of Extract I.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus is obviously in error, and we should read 'Taxiles' for 'Porus' and *vice versa*.

<sup>5</sup> Eudamus (or Eudemus) was, in conjunction with Taxiles, appointed by Alexander to govern temporarily a part of his Indian conquests till the arrival of a successor to Philip, who had been assassinated. After Alexander's death Eudemus put Porus to death, and shortly afterwards left India to assist Eumenes in his contest with Antigonos. The elephants which Eudemus took with him from India proved of great service to Eumenes.

<sup>6</sup> A slightly different translation is given in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> Osiris is here identified with the Greek Bacchus.

<sup>8</sup> Obviously intended for Palibothra, modern Patna.

## V. THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

For Introduction, see above, p. 93

## I. BOOK XV, I

1. The parts still left of Asia are those outside the Taurus except Cilicia and Pamphylia and Lycia, I mean the parts extending from India as far as the Nile and lying between the Taurus and the outer sea on the south. After Asia one comes to Libya, which I shall describe later, but I must now begin with India, for it is the first and largest country that lies out towards the east.

2. But it is necessary for us to hear accounts of this country with indulgence, for not only is it farthest away from us, but not many of our people have seen it; and even those who have seen it, have seen only parts of it, and the greater part of what they say is from hearsay; and even what they saw they learned on a hasty passage with an army through the country. Wherefore they do not give out the same accounts of the same things, even though they have written these accounts as though their statements had been carefully confirmed. And some of them were both on the same expedition together and made their sojourns together, like those who helped Alexander to subdue Asia; yet they all frequently contradict one another. But if they differ thus about what was seen, what must we think of what they report from hearsay?

3. Moreover, most of those who have written anything about this region in much later times, and those who sail there at the present time, do not present any accurate information either. At any rate, Apollodorus, who wrote *The Parthica*, when he mentions the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator, says that when those kings had grown in power they also attacked India, but he reveals nothing further than what was already known, and even contradicts what was known, saying that those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians; that Eucratidas, at any rate, held a thousand cities as his subjects. Those other writers, however, say that merely the tribes between the Hydaspes and the Hypanis were nine in number, and that they had five thousand cities, no one of which was smaller than the Meropian Cos, and that Alexander subdued the whole of this country and gave it over to Porus.

4. As for the merchants who now sail from Aegypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India, only a small number have sailed as far as the Ganges; and even these are merely private citizens and of no use as regards the history of the places they have seen. But from India, from one place and from one king, I mean Pandion, or another Porus, there came to Caesar Augustus presents and gifts of honour and the Indian sophist who burnt himself up at Athens, as Calanus had done, who made a similar spectacular display of himself before Alexander.

5. If, however, one should dismiss these accounts and observe the records of the country prior to the expedition of Alexander, one would find things still more obscure. Now it is reasonable to suppose that Alexander believed such records because he was blinded by his numerous good fortunes; at any rate, Nearchus says that Alexander conceived an ambition to lead his army through Gedrosia when he learned that both Semiramis and Cyrus had made an expedition against the Indians, and that Semiramis had turned back in flight with only twenty people and Cyrus with seven; and that Alexander thought how grand it would be, when those had met with such reverses, if he himself should lead a whole victorious army safely through the same tribes and regions. Alexander, therefore, believed these accounts.

6. But as for us, what just credence can we place in the accounts of India derived from such an expedition made by Cyrus, or Semiramis? And **Megasthenes** virtually agrees with this reasoning when he bids us to have no faith in the ancient stories about the Indians; for, he says, neither was an army ever sent outside the country by the Indians nor did any outside army ever invade their country and master them, except that with Heracles and Dionysus and that in our times with the Macedonians. However, Sesostris, the Aegyptian, he adds, and Tearco the Aethiopian advanced as far as Europe; and Nabocodrosor, who enjoyed greater repute among the Chaldaeans than Heracles, led an army even as far as the Pillars. Thus far, he says, also Tearco went; and Sesostris also led his army from Iberia to Thrace and the Pontus; and Idanthysus the Scythian overran Asia as far as Aegypt; but no one of these touched India, and Semiramis too died before the attempt; and, although the Persians summoned the Hydraces as mercenary troops from India, the latter did not make an expedition to Persia, but only came near it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae.

7. As for the stories of Heracles and Dionysus, **Megasthenes** with a few others considers them trustworthy; but most other writers, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them untrustworthy and mythical, like the stories current among the Greeks. For instance, in the *Bacchae* of Euripides Dionysus says with youthful bravado as follows: "I have left behind me the gold-bearing glades of Lydia and of Phrygia, and I have visited the sun-stricken plains of Persia, the walled towns of Bactria, the wintry land of the Medes, and Arabia the Blest, and the whole of Asia." In Sophocles, also, there is someone who hymns the praises of Nysa as the mountain sacred to Dionysus: "Whence I beheld the famous Nysa, ranged in Bacchic frenzy by mortals, which the horned Iacchus roams as his own sweetest nurse, where—what bird exists that singeth not there?" And so forth. And he is also called "Metrotraphes." And Homer says of Lycurgus the Edonian as follows: "who once drove the nurses of frenzied Dionysus down over the sacred mount of Nysa." So much for Dionysus. But, regarding Heracles, some tell the story that he went in the opposite direction only, as far as the extreme limits on the west, whereas others say that he went to both extreme limits.

8. From such stories, accordingly, writers have named a certain tribe of people "Nysaeans," and a city among them "Nysa," founded by Dionysus; and they have named a mountain above the city "Merus," alleging as the cause of the name the ivy that grows there, as also the vine, which latter does not reach maturity either; for on account of excessive rains the bunches of grapes fall off before they ripen; and they say that the Sydracae are descendants of Dionysus, judging from the vine in their country and from their costly processions, since the kings not only make their expeditions out of their country in Bacchic fashion, but also accompany all other processions with a beating of drums and with flowered robes, a custom which is also prevalent among the rest of the Indians. When Alexander, at one assault, took Aornus, a rock at the foot of which, near its sources, the Indus River flows, his exalters said that Heracles thrice attacked this rock and thrice was repulsed; and that the Sibae were descendants of those who shared with Heracles in the expedition, and that they retained badges of their descent, in that they wore skins like Heracles, carried clubs, and branded their cattle and mules with the mark of a club. And they further confirm this myth by the sto-

ries of the Caucasus and Prometheus, for they have transferred all this thither on a slight pretext, I mean because they saw a sacred cave in the country of the Paropamisadae, for they set forth that this cave was the prison of Prometheus and that this was the place whither Heracles came to release Prometheus, and that this was the Caucasus the Greeks declared to be the prison of Prometheus.

9. But that these stories are fabrications of the flatterers of Alexander is obvious; first, not only from the fact that the historians do not agree with one another, and also because, while some relate them, others make no mention whatever of them; for it is unreasonable to believe that exploits so famous and full of romance were unknown to any historian, or, if known, that they were regarded as unworthy of recording, and that too by the most trustworthy of the historians; and, secondly, from the fact that not even the intervening peoples, through whose countries Dionysus and Heracles and their followers would have had to pass in order to reach India, can show any evidence that these made a journey through their country. Further, such accoutrement of Heracles is much later than the records of the Trojan War, being a fabrication of the authors of the *Heracleia*, whether the author was Peisander or someone else. The ancient statues of Heracles are not thus accoutred.

10. So, in cases like these, one must accept everything that is nearest to credibility. I have already in my first discussion of the subject of geography<sup>1</sup> made decisions, as far as I could, about these matters. And now I shall unhesitatingly use those decisions as accepted, and shall also add any thing else that seems required for the purpose of clearness. It was particularly apparent from my former discussion that the summary account set forth in the third book of his geography by Eratosthenes of what was in his time regarded as India, that is, when Alexander invaded the country, is the most trustworthy; and the Indus River was the boundary between India and Ariana, which latter was situated next to India on the west and was in the possession of the Persians at that time; for later the Indians also held much of Ariana, having received it from the Macedonians. And the account given by Eratosthenes is as follows :

11. India is bounded on the north, from Ariana to the eastern sea, by the extremities of the Taurus, which by the natives are severally called "Paropamisus" and "Emodus" and "Imaus"

and other names, but by the Macedonians "Caucasus"; on the west by the Indus River; but the southern and eastern sides, which are much greater than the other two, extend out into the Atlantic sea, and thus the shape of the country becomes rhomboidal, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite side by as much as three thousand stadia, which is the same number of stadia by which the cape<sup>2</sup> common to the eastern and southern coast extends equally farther out in either direction than the rest of the shore. Now the length of the western side from the Caucasian Mountains to the southern sea is generally called thirteen thousand stadia, I mean along the Indus River to its outlets, so that the length of the opposite side, the eastern, if one adds the three thousand of the cape, will be sixteen thousand stadia. These, then are the minimum and maximum breadths of the country. The lengths are reckoned from the west to the east; and, of these, that to Palibothra can be told with more confidence, for it has been measured with measuring-lines,<sup>3</sup> and there is a royal road of ten thousand stadia. The extent of the parts beyond Palibothra is a matter of guess, depending upon the voyages made from the sea on the Ganges to Palibothra; and this would be something like six thousand stadia. The entire length of the country, at its minimum, will be sixteen thousand stadia, as taken from the *Register of Days' Journeys* that is most commonly accepted, according to Eratosthenes; and, in agreement with him, **Megasthenes** states the same thing, though Patrocles says a thousand stadia less. If to this distance, however, one adds the distance that the cape extends out into the sea still farther towards the east, the extra three thousand stadia will form the maximum length;<sup>4</sup> and this constitutes the distance from the outlets of the Indus River along the shore that comes next in order thereafter, to the aforesaid cape, that is, to the eastern limits of India. Here live the Coniaci, as they are called.

12. From this one can see how much the accounts of the other writers differ. Ctesias says that India is not smaller than the rest of Asia; Onesicritus that it is a third part of the inhabited world; Nearchus that the march merely through the plain itself takes four months; but **Megasthenes** and Deimachus are more moderate in their estimates, for they put the distance from the southern sea to the Caucasus at "above twenty thousand stadia," although Deimachus says that "at some places the distance is above thirty thousand stadia;" but I have replied to these writers

in my first discussion of India.<sup>5</sup> At present it is sufficient to say that this statement of mine agrees with that of those writers who ask our pardon if, in anything they say about India, they do not speak with assurance.

13. The whole of India is traversed by rivers. Some of these flow together into the two largest rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, whereas others empty into the sea by their own mouths. They have their sources, one and all, in the Caucasus; and they all flow first towards the south, and then, though some of them continue to flow in the same direction, in particular those which flow into the Indus, others bend towards the east, as, for example, the Ganges. Now the Ganges, which is the largest of the rivers in India, flows down from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains bends towards the east and flows past Palibothra, a very large city, and then flows on towards the sea in that region and empties by a single outlet. But the Indus empties by two mouths into the southern sea, encompassing the country called Patalene, which is similar to the Delta of Aegypt. It is due to the vapours arising from all these rivers and to the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes says, that India is watered by the summer rains and that the plains become marshes. Now in the rainy seasons flax is sown, and also millet, and, in addition to these, sesame and rice and bosmorum, and in the winter seasons wheat and barley and pulse and other edibles with which we are unacquainted. I might almost say that the same animals are to be found in India as in Aethiopia and Aegypt, and that the Indian rivers have all the other river animals except the hippopotamus, although Onesicritus says that the hippopotamus is also to be found in India. As for the people of India, those in the south are like the Aethiopians in colour, although they are like the rest in respect to countenance and hair (for on account of the humidity of the air their hair does not curl), whereas those in the north are like the Aegyptians.

14. As for Taprobane, it is said to be an island situated in the high sea within a seven days' sail towards the south from the most southerly parts of India, the Land of the Coniaci; that it extends in length about eight thousand stadia<sup>6</sup> in the direction of Aethiopia, and that it also has elephants. Such are the statements of Eratosthenes; but my own description will be specially characterised by the addition of the statements of the other writers, wherever they add any accurate information.

15. Onesicritus, for example, says of Taprobane that it is "five thousand stadia in size," without distinguishing its length or breadth; and that it is a twenty days' voyage distant from the mainland, but that it is a difficult voyage for ships that are poorly furnished with sails and are constructed without belly-ribs on both sides; and that there are also other islands between Taprobane and India, though Taprobane is farthest south; and that amphibious monsters are to be found round it, some of which are like kine, others like horses, and others like other land-animals.

16. Nearchus, speaking of the alluvia deposited by the rivers, gives the following examples: that the Plain of the Hermus River, and that of the Cayster, as also those of the Maeander and the Caicus, are so named because they are increased, or rather created, by the silt that is carried down from the mountains over the plains—that is all the silt that is fertile and soft; and that it is carried down by the rivers, so that the plains are, in fact, the offspring, as it were, of these rivers; and that it is well said that they belong to these. This is the same as the statement made by Herodotus in regard to the Nile and the land that borders thereon, that the land is the gift of the Nile; and for this reason Nearchus rightly says that the Nile was also called by the same name as the land Aegyptus.

17. Aristobulus says that only the mountains and their foot-hills have both rain and snow, but that the plains are free alike from rain and snow, and are inundated only when the rivers rise; that the mountains have snow in the winter-time, and at the beginning of spring-time the rains also set in and ever increase more and more, and at the time of the Etesian winds the rains pour unceasingly and violently from the clouds, both day and night, until the rising of Archturus; and that, therefore, the rivers, thus filled from both the snows and the rains, water the plains. He says that both he himself and the others noted this when they had set out for India from Paropamisadae, after the setting of the Pleiades, and when they spent the winter near the mountainous country in the land of the Hypasians and of Assacanus, and that at the beginning of spring they went down into the plains and to Taxila, a large city, and thence to the Hydaspes River and the country of Porus; that in winter, however, no water was to be seen, but only snow; and that it first rained at Taxila; and that when, after they had gone down to the Hydaspes River and had conquered Porus, their journey led to the Hypanis River towards



the east and thence back again to the Hydaspes, it rained continually, and especially at the time of the Etesian winds; but that when Arcturus rose, the rain ceased; and that after tarrying while their ships were being built on the Hydaspes River, and after beginning of the Pleiades, and, after occupying themselves all autumn and winter and the coming spring and summer with their voyage down to the seacoast, they arrived at Patalene at about the time of the rising of the Dog Star; that the voyage down to the seacoast therefore took ten months, and that they saw rains nowhere, not even when the Etesian winds were at their height, and that the plains were flooded when the rivers were filled, and the sea was not navigable when the winds were blowing in the opposite direction, and that no land breezes succeeded them.

18. Now this is precisely what Nearchus says too, but he does not agree with Aristobulus about the summer rains, saying that the plains have rains in summer but are without rains in winter. Both writers, however, speak also of the risings of the rivers. Nearchus says that when they were camping near the Acesines River they were forced at the time of the rising to change to a favourable place higher up, and that this took place at the time of the summer solstice; whereas Aristobulus gives also the measure of the height to which the river rises, forty cubits, of which cubits twenty are filled by the stream above its previous depth to the margin and the other twenty are the measure of the overflow in the plains. They agree also that the cities situated on the top of mounds become islands, as is the case also in Aegypt and Aethiopia, and that the overflows cease after the rising of Arcturus, when the waters recede; and they add that although the soil is sown when only half-dried, after being furrowed by any sort of digging-instrument, yet the plant comes to maturity and yields excellent fruit. The rice, according to Aristobulus, stands in water enclosures and is sown in beds; and the plant is four cubits in height, not only having many ears but also yielding much grain; and the harvest is about the time of the setting of the Pleiades, and the grain is winnowed like barley; and rice grows also in Bactriana and Babylonia and Susis, as also in Lower Syria. Megillus says that rice is sown before the rains, but requires irrigation and transplanting, being watered from tanks. Bosmorum, according to Onesicritus, is a smaller grain than wheat; and it grows in lands situated between rivers. It is roasted when it is threshed out, since the people take an oath beforehand

that they will not carry it away unroasted from the threshing-floor, to prevent the exportation of seed.

19. Aristobulus, comparing the characteristics of this country that are similar to those of both Aegypt and Aethiopia, and again those that are opposite thereto, I mean the fact that the Nile is flooded from the southern rains, whereas the Indian rivers are flooded from the northern, inquires why the intermediate regions have no rainfall; for neither the Thebais as far as Syene and the region of Meroe nor the region of India from Patalene as far as the Hydaspes has any rain. But the country above these parts, in which both rain and snow fall, are cultivated, he says, in the same way as in the rest of the country that is outside India; for, he adds, it is watered by the rains and snows. And it is reasonable to suppose from his statements that the land is also quite subject to earthquakes, since it is made porous by reason of its great humidity and is subject to such fissures that even the beds of rivers are changed. At any rate, he says that when he was sent upon a certain mission he saw a country of more than a thousand cities, together with villages, that had been deserted because the Indus had abandoned its proper bed, and had turned aside into the other bed on the left that was much deeper, and flowed with precipitous descent like a cataract, so that the Indus no longer watered, by its overflows, the abandoned country on the right, since that country was now above the level, not only of the new stream, but also of its overflows.

20. The flooding of the rivers and the absence of land breezes is confirmed also by the statement of Onesicritus; for he says that the seashore is covered with shoal-water, and particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt, the flood-tides, and the prevalence of the winds from the high seas. **Megasthenes** indicates the fertility of India by saying that it produces fruit and grain twice a year. And so says Eratosthenes, who speaks of the winter sowing and the summer sowing, and likewise of rain; for he says that he finds that no year is without rain in both seasons; so that, from this fact, the country has good seasons, never failing to produce crops; and that the trees there produce fruits in abundance, and the roots of plants, in particular those of large reeds, which are sweet both by nature and by heating, since the water from the sky as well as that of the rivers is warmed by the rays of the sun. In a sense, therefore, Eratosthenes means to say that what among other peoples is called "the

ripening," whether of fruits or of juices, is called among those people a "heating," and that ripening is as effective in producing a good flavour as heating by fire. For this reason also, he adds, the branches of the trees from which the wheels of carriages are made are flexible; and for the same reason even wool<sup>7</sup> blossoms on some. From this wool, Nearchus says, finely threaded cloths are woven and the Macedonians use them for pillows and as padding for their saddles. The *Serica* also are of this kind, *Byssus*<sup>8</sup> being dried out of certain barks. He states also concerning the reeds,<sup>9</sup> that they produce honey, although there are no bees, and in fact that there is a fruit-bearing tree from the fruit of which honey is compounded, but that those who eat the fruit raw become intoxicated.

21. In truth, India produces numerous strange trees, among which is the one whose branches bend downwards and whose leaves are no smaller than a shield. Onesicritus, who even in rather superfluous detail describes the country of *Musicanus*, which, he says, is the most southerly part of India, relates that it has some great trees whose branches have first grown to the height of twelve cubits, and then, after such growth, have grown downwards, as though bent down, till they have touched the earth; and that they then, thus distributed, have taken root underground like layers, and then, growing forth, have formed trunks; and that the branches of these trunks again, likewise bent down in their growth, have formed another layer, and then another, and so on successively, so that from only one tree there is formed a vast sunshade, like a tent with many supporting columns.<sup>10</sup> He says also of the size of the trees that their trunks could hardly be embraced by five men. Aristobulus also, where he mentions the *Acesines* and its confluence with the *Hyarotis*,<sup>11</sup> speaks of the trees that have their branches bent downwards and of such size that fifty horsemen—according to Onesicritus, four hundred—can pass the noon in shade under one tree. Aristobulus mentions also another tree, not large, with pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey, and says that those who eat it cannot easily be saved from death. But the accounts of all writers of the size of the trees have been surpassed by those who say that there has been seen beyond the *Hyarotis* a tree which casts a shade at noon of five stadia. And as for the wool-bearing trees, Aristobulus says that the flower contains a seed, and that when this is removed the rest is combed like wool.

22. Aristobulus speaks also of a self-grown grain, similar to wheat, in the country of Musicanus, and of a vine from which wine is produced, although the other writers say that India has no wine; and therefore, according to Anacharsis, it also has no flutes, or any other musical instruments except cymbals and drums and castanets, which are possessed by the jugglers. Both he and other writers speak of this country as abounding in herbs and roots both curative and poisonous, and likewise in plants of many colours. And Aristobulus adds that they have a law whereby any person who discovers anything deadly is put to death unless he also discovers a cure for it, but if that person discovers a cure he receives a reward from the king. And he says that the southern land of India, like Arabia and Aethiopia, bears cinnamon, nard, and other aromatic products being similar to those countries in the effect of the rays of sun, although it surpasses them in the copiousness of its waters; and that therefore its air is humid and proportionately more nourishing and more productive; and that this applies both to the land and to the water, and therefore, of course, both land and water animals in India are found to be larger than those in other countries; but that the Nile is more productive than other rivers, and produces huge creatures, among others the amphibious kind; and that the Aegyptian women sometimes actually bear four children. Aristotle reports that one woman actually bore seven; and he, too, calls the Nile highly productive and nourishing because of the moderate heat of the sun's rays, which, he says, leave the nourishing element and evaporate merely the superfluous.

23. It is probably from the same cause, as Aristotle says, that this too takes place—I mean that the water of the Nile boils with one-half the heat required by any other. But in proportion, he says, as the water of the Nile traverses in a straight course a long and narrow tract of country and passes across many “climata” and through many atmospheres, whereas the streams of India spread into greater and wider plains, lingering for a long time in the same “climata,” in the same proportion those of India are more nourishing than those of the Nile; and on this account their river animals are also larger and more numerous; and further, he says, the water is already heated when it pours from the clouds.

24. To this statement Aristobulus and his followers, who assert that the plains are not watered by rain, would not agree.

But Onesicritus believes that rain-water is the cause of the distinctive differences in the animals; and he adduces as evidence that the colour of foreign cattle which drink it is changed to that of the native animals. Now in this he is correct; but no longer so when he lays the black complexion and woolly hair of the Aethiopians on merely the waters and censures Theodectes, who refers the cause to the sun itself, saying as follows: "Nearing the borders of these people the Sun, driving his chariot, discoloured the bodies of men with a murky dark bloom, and curled their hair, fusing it by unincreasable forms of fire." But Onesicritus might have some argument on his side; for he says that, in the first place, the sun is no nearer to the Aethiopians than to any other people, but is more nearly in a perpendicular line with reference to them and on this account scorches more, and therefore it is incorrect to say, "Nearing the borders . . . the sun," since the sun is equidistant from all peoples; and that, secondly, the heat is not the cause of such a discoloration, for it does not apply to infants in the womb either, since the rays of the sun do not touch them. But better is the opinion of those who lay the cause to the sun and its scorching, which causes a very great deficiency of moisture on the surface of the skin. And I assert that it is in accordance with this fact that the Indians do not have woolly hairs, and also that their skin is not so unmercifully scorched, I mean the fact that they share in an atmosphere that is humid. And already in the womb children, by seminal impartation, become like their parents in colour; for congenital affections and other similarities are also thus explained. Further, the statement that the sun is equidistant from all peoples is made in accordance with observation, not reason; and in accordance with observations that are not casual, but in accordance with the observation, as I put it, that the earth is no larger than a point as compared with the sun's globe; since in accordance with the kind of observation whereby we feel differences in heat—more heat when the heat is near us and less when it is far away—the sun is not equidistant from all; and it is in this sense that the sun is spoken of as "nearing the borders" of the Aethiopians, not in the sense Onesicritus thinks.

25. The following, too, is one of the things agreed upon by all who maintain the resemblance of India to Aegypt and Aethiopia: that all plains which are not inundated are unproductive for want of water. Nearchus says that the question formerly raised in reference to the Nile as to the source of its floodings is

answered by the Indian rivers, because it is the result of the summer rains; but that when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Aegyptian beans in the Acesines, he thought he had found the sources of the Nile and thought of preparing a fleet for an expedition to Aegypt, thinking that he would sail as far as there by this river, but he learned a little later that he could not accomplish what he had hoped; "for between are great rivers and dreadful streams, Oceanus first," into which all the Indian rivers empty; and then intervene Ariana, and the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs and Arabia itself and the Troglodyte country.

Such, then, are the accounts we have of the winds and the rains, and of the flooding of the rivers, and of the inundation of the plains.

26. But I must tell also the several details concerning the rivers, so far as they are useful for the purpose of geography and so far as I have learned their history. For the rivers in particular, being a kind of natural boundary for both the size and the shape of countries, are very convenient for the purposes of the whole of our present subject; but the Nile and the Indian rivers offer a certain advantage as compared with the rest because of the fact that apart from them the countries are uninhabitable, being at the same time navigable and tillable, and that they can neither be travelled over otherwise nor inhabited at all. Now as for the rivers worthy of mention that flow down into the Indus, I shall tell their history, as also that of the countries traversed by them; but as for the rest there is more ignorance than knowledge. For Alexander, who more than any other uncovered these regions, at the outset, when those who had treacherously slain Dareius set out to cause the revolt of Bactriana, resolved that it would be most desirable to pursue and overthrow them. He therefore approached India through Ariana, and, leaving India on the right, crossed over Mt. Paropamisus to the northerly parts and Bactriana; and, having subdued everything there that was subject to the Persians and still more, he then forthwith reached out for India too, since many men had been describing it to him, though not clearly. Accordingly he returned, passing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, keeping India on the left, and then turned immediately towards India and its western boundaries and the Cophes River and the Choaspes, which latter empties into the Cophes River near a city Plemyrion, after flowing past Gorys, another city, and flowing forth through both Bandobene and Gan-

daritis. He learned by inquiry that the mountainous and northerly part was the most habitable and fruitful, but that the southerly part was partly without water and partly washed by rivers and utterly hot, more suitable for wild beasts than for human beings. Accordingly, he set out to acquire first the part that was commended to him, at the same time considering that the rivers which it was necessary to cross, since they flow transversely and cut through the country which he meant to traverse, could more easily be crossed near their sources. At the same time he also heard that several rivers flowed together into one stream, and that this was always still more the case the farther forward they advanced, so that the country was more difficult to cross, especially in the event of lack of boats. Afraid of this, therefore, he crossed the Cophes and began to subdue all the mountainous country that faced towards east.

27. After the Cophes he went to the Indus, then to the Hydaspes, then to the Acesines and the Hyarotis, and last to the Hypanis; for he was prevented from advancing farther, partly through observance of certain oracles and partly because he was forced by his army, which had already been worn out by its labours, though they suffered most of all from the waters, being continually drenched with rain. Of the eastern parts of India, then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this side the Hypanis, and also any parts beyond the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra. Now after the Cophes follows the Indus; and the region between these rivers is occupied by Astaceni, Masiani, Nysaei, and Hy-pasii; and then one comes to the country of Assacanus, where is a city Mesoga, the royal seat of the country; and now near the Indus again, one comes to another city, Peucolaitis, near which a bridge that had already been built afforded a passage for the army.

28. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes lies Taxila, a city which is large and has most excellent laws; and the country that lies round it is spacious and very fertile, immediately bordering also on the plains. Both the inhabitants and their king, Taxiles, received Alexander in a kindly way; and they obtained from Alexander more gifts than they themselves presented, so that the Macedonians were envious and said that Alexander did not have anyone, as it seemed, on whom to bestow his benefactions until

he crossed the Indus. Some say that this country is larger than Aegypt. Above this country in the mountains lies the country of Abisarus, who, according to the ambassadors that came from him, kept two serpents, one eighty cubits in length and another one hundred and forty, according to Onesicritus, who cannot so properly be called arch-pilot of Alexander as of things that are incredible; for though all the followers of Alexander preferred to accept the marvellous rather than the true, Onesicritus seems to surpass all those followers of his in the telling of prodigies. However, he tells some things that are both plausible and worthy of mention, and therefore they are not passed by in silence even by one who disbelieves them. At any rate, others too speak of the serpents, saying that they are caught in the Emodi mountains and kept in caves.

29. Between the Hydaspes and the Acesines is, first the country of Porus, extensive and fertile, containing about three hundred cities; and secondly, the forest near the Emodi mountains, from which Alexander cut, and brought down on the Hydaspes, a large quantity of fir, pine, cedar, and other logs of all kinds fit for shipbuilding, from which he built a fleet on the Hydaspes near the cities founded by him on either side of the river where he crossed and conquered Porus. Of these cities, he named one Bucephalia, after Bucephalas, the horse which fell during the battle with Porus (the horse was called Bucephalas<sup>12</sup> from the width of his forehead; he was an excellent war-horse and was always used by Alexander in his fights); and he called the other Nicaea, after his victory. In the forest above-mentioned both the number and the size of the long-tailed apes are alike described as so extraordinary that once the Macedonians, seeing many of these standing as in front-line array on some bare hills (for this animal is very human-like in mentality, no less so than the elephant), got the impression that they were an army of men; and they actually set out to attack them as human enemies, but on learning the truth from Taxiles, who was then with the king, desisted. The capture of the animal is effected in two ways. It is an imitative animal and takes to flight up in the trees. Now the hunters, when they see an ape seated on a tree, place in sight a bowl containing water and rub their own eyes with it; and then they put down a bowl of bird-lime instead of the water; go away, and lie in wait at a distance; and when the animal leaps down and besmears itself with the bird-lime, and when, upon winking,



its eyelids are shut together, the hunters approach and take it alive. Now this is one way, but there is another. They put on baggy breeches like trousers and then go away, leaving behind them others that are shaggy and smeared inside with bird-lime; and when the animals put these on, they are easily captured.

30. Some put both Cathaea and the country of Sopeithes, one of the provincial chiefs, between these two rivers,<sup>13</sup> but others on the far side of the Acesines and the Hyarotis, as bordering on the country of the second Porus, who was a cousin<sup>14</sup> of the Porus captured by Alexander. The country that was subject to him is called Gandaris. As for Cathaea, a most novel regard for beauty there is reported; I mean that it is prized in an exceptional manner, as, for example, for the beauty of its horses and dogs; and, in fact, Onesicritus says that they choose the handsomest person as king, and that a child is judged in public after it is two months old as to whether it has the beauty of form required by law and is worthy to live or not; and that when it is judged by the appointed magistrate it is allowed to live or is put to death; and that the men dye their beards with many most florid colours for the sole reason that they wish to beautify themselves; and that this practice is carefully followed by numerous other Indian peoples also (for the country produces marvellous colours, he says), who dye both their hair and their garments; and that the people, though shabby in every other way, are fond of adornment. The following too is reported as a custom peculiar to the Cathaeans: the groom and bride choose one another themselves, and wives are burned up with their deceased husbands for a reason of this kind—that they sometimes fell in love with young men and deserted their husbands or poisoned them; and therefore the Cathaeans established this as a law, thinking that they would put a stop to the poisoning. However, the law is not stated in a plausible manner, nor the cause of it either. It is said that in the country of Sopeithes there is a mountain of mineral salt sufficient for the whole of India. And gold and silver mines are reported in other mountains not far away, excellent mines, as has been plainly shown by Gorgus the mining expert. But since the Indians are inexperienced in mining and smelting, they also do not know what their resources are, and handle the business in a rather simple manner.

31. Writers narrate also the excellent qualities of the dogs in the country of Sopeithes. They say, at any rate, that Alexander

received one hundred and fifty dogs from Sopeithes; and that, to prove them, two were let loose to attack a lion, and, when they were being overpowered, two others were let loose upon him, and that then, the match having now become equal, Sopeithes bade someone to take one of the dogs by the leg and pull him away, and if the dog did not yield, to cut off his leg; and that Alexander would not consent to cutting off the dog's leg at first, wishing to spare the dog, but consented when Sopeithes said that he would give him four instead; and that the dog suffered the cutting off of his leg by slow amputation before he let go his grip.

32. Now the march to the Hydaspes was for the most part towards the south, but from there to the Hypanis it was more towards the east, and as a whole it kept to the foothills more than to the plains. At all events, Alexander, when he returned from the Hypanis to the Hydaspes and the naval station, proceeded to make ready his fleet and then to set sail on the Hydaspes. All the above-mentioned rivers, last of all the Hypanis, unite in one river, the Indus; and it is said that the Indus is joined by fifteen noteworthy rivers all told, and that after being filled so full by all that it is widened in some places, according to writers who are immoderate, even to the extent of one hundred stadia, but, according to the more moderate, fifty at the most and seven at the least (and there are many tribes and cities all about it), it then empties into the southern sea by two mouths and forms the island called Patalene. Alexander conceived this purpose<sup>15</sup> after dismissing from his mind the parts towards the east; first, because he had been prevented from crossing the Hypanis, and, secondly, because he had learned by experience the falsity of the report which had preoccupied his mind, that the parts in the plains were burning hot and more habitable for wild beasts than for a human race; and therefore he set out for these parts, dismissing those others, so that the former became better known than those others.

33. Now the country between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes is said to contain nine tribes, and also cities to the number of five thousand—cities no smaller than Cos Meropis, though the number stated seems to be excessive. And as for the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, I have stated approximately the peoples worthy of mention by which it is inhabited;<sup>16</sup> and below them, next in order, are the people called Sibae, whom I have mentioned before<sup>17</sup> and the Malli and the Sydracae, large tribes. It was in the country of the Malli that Alexander was in

peril of death, being wounded in the capture of some small city; and as for the Sydracae, I have already spoken of them as mythically akin to Dionysus.<sup>18</sup> Near Patalene, they say, one comes at once to the country of Musicanus, and to that of Sabus, where is Sindomana, and also to the country of Porticanus and others, who, one and all, were conquered by Alexander, these peoples dwelling along the river-lands of the Indus; but last of all to Patalene, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths. Now Aristobulus says that these mouths are one thousand stadia distant from one another, but Nearchus adds eight hundred; and Onesicritus reckons each of the two sides of the included island, which is triangular in shape, at two thousand, and the width of the river, where it branches into the mouths, at about two hundred; and he calls the island Delta, and says that it is equal in size to the Aegyptian Delta, a statement which is not true. For it is said that the Aegyptian Delta has a base of one thousand three hundred stadia, though each of the two sides is shorter than the base. In Patalene there is a noteworthy city, Patala, after which the island is named.

34. Onesicritus says that most of the seaboard in this part of the world abounds in shoals, particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt and the overflows and also of the fact that no breezes blow from the land, and that this region is subject for the most part to winds that blow from the high sea. He describes also the country of Musicanus, lauding it rather at length for things of which some are reported as common also to other Indians, as, for example, their length of life, thirty years beyond one hundred (and indeed some say that the Seres live still longer than this), and their healthfulness, and simple diet, even though their country has an abundance of everything. Peculiar to them is the fact that they have a kind of Laconian common mess, where they eat in public and use as food the meat of animals taken in the chase; and that they do not use gold or silver, although they have mines; and that instead of slaves they use young men in the vigour of life, as the Cretans use the Aphamiotae and the Laconians the Helots; and that they make no accurate study of the sciences except that of medicine, for they regard too much training in some of them as wickedness; for example, military science and the like; and that they have no process at law except for murder and outrage, for it is not in one's power to avoid suffering these, whereas the content of contracts

is in the power of each man himself, so that he is required to endure it if anyone breaks faith with him, and also to consider carefully who should be trusted and not to fill the city with law-suits. This is the account of those who made the expedition with Alexander.

35. But there has also been published a letter of Craterus to his mother Aristopatra, which alleges many other strange things and agrees with no one else, particularly in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges. And he says that he himself saw the river and monsters on its banks, and a magnitude both of width and of depth which is remote from credibility rather than near it. Indeed, it is sufficiently agreed that the Ganges is the largest of known rivers on the three continents, and after it the Indus, and third and fourth the Ister and the Nile; but the several details concerning it are stated differently by different writers, some putting its minimum breadth at thirty stadia and others even at three, whereas **Megasthenes** says that when its breadth is medium it widens even to one hundred stadia and that its least depth is twenty fathoms.<sup>19</sup>

36. It is said that Palibothra lies at the confluence of the Ganges and the other river, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth, in the shape of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a wooden wall that is perforated so that arrows can be shot through the holes; and that in front of the wall lies a trench used both for defence and as a receptacle of the sewage that flows from the city; and that the tribe of people amongst whom this city is situated is called the Prasii and is far superior to all the rest; and that the reigning king must be surnamed after the city, being called Palibothrus in addition to his own family name, as, for example, King Sandrocottus to whom **Megasthenes** was sent on an embassy. Such is also the custom among the Parthians; for all are called Arsaces, although personally one king is called Orodes, another Phraotes, and another something else.

37. Writers are agreed that the country as a whole on the far side of the Hypanis is best; but they do not describe it accurately, and because of their ignorance and of its remoteness magnify all things or make them more marvellous. For example, the stories of the ants that mine gold and of other creatures, both beasts and human beings, which are of peculiar form and in respect to certain natural powers have undergone complete changes, as, for example, the Seres, who, they say, are long-lived, and pro-

long their lives even beyond two hundred years. They tell also of a kind of aristocratic order of government that was composed outright of five thousand counsellors, each of whom furnishes the new commonwealth with an elephant. **Megasthenes** says that the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, even nearly twice as large as lions, and so powerful that a tame one, though being led by four men, seized a mule by the hind leg and by force drew the mule to itself; and that the long-tailed apes are larger than the largest dogs, are white except their faces, which are black (the contrary is the case elsewhere), that their tails are more than two cubits long, and that they are very tame and not malicious as regards attacks and thefts; and that stones are dug up of the colour of frankincense and sweeter than figs or honey; and that in other places there are reptiles two cubits long with membranous wings like bats, and that they too fly by night, discharging drops of urine, or also of sweat, which putrefy the skin of anyone who is not on his guard; and that there are winged scorpions of surpassing size; and that ebony is also produced; and that there are also brave dogs, which do not let go the object bitten till water is poured down into their nostrils; and that some bite so vehemently that their eyes become distorted and sometimes actually fall out; and that even a lion was held fast by a dog, and also a bull, and that the bull was actually killed, being overpowered through the dog's hold on his nose before he could be released.

38. **Megasthenes** goes on to say that in the mountainous country there is a River Silas on which nothing floats; that **Democritus**, however, disbelieves this, inasmuch as he had wandered over much of Asia. But **Aristotle** also disbelieves it, although there are atmospheres so thin that no winged creature can fly in them. Besides, certain rising vapours tend to attract to themselves and "gulp down", as it were, whatever flies over them, as amber does with chaff and the magnet with iron; and perhaps there might also be natural powers of this kind in water. Now these things border, in a way, on natural philosophy and on the science of floating bodies, and therefore should be investigated there; but in this treatise I must add still the following, and whatever else is close to the province of geography.

39. He says, then, that the population of India is divided into seven castes: the one first in honour, but the fewest in number, consists of the philosophers; and these philosophers are

used, each individually, by people making sacrifice to the gods or making offerings to the dead, but jointly by the kings at the Great Synod, as it is called, at which at the beginning of the new year, the philosophers, one and all, come together at the gates of the king; and whatever each man has drawn up in writing or observed as useful with reference to the prosperity of either fruits or living beings or concerning the government, he brings forward in public; and he who is thrice found false is required by law to keep silence for life, whereas he who has proved correct is adjudged exempt from tribute and taxes.

40. The second caste, he says, is that of the farmers, who are not only the most numerous, but also the most highly respected, because of their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming; and they do not approach a city, either because of a public disturbance or on any other business; at any rate, he says, it often happens that at the same time and place some are in battle array and are in peril of their lives against the enemy, while the farmers are ploughing or digging without peril, the latter having the former as defenders. The whole of the country is of royal ownership; and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce.<sup>20</sup>

41. The third caste is that of the shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, and to sell or hire out beasts of burden; and in return for freeing the land from wild beasts and seed-picking birds, they receive proportionate allowances of grain from the king, leading, as they do, a wandering and tent-dwelling life. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or elephant. The possession of either is a royal privilege, and there are men to take care of them.

42. The chase of the elephant is conducted as follows: they dig a deep ditch round a treeless tract about four or five stadia in circuit and bridge the entrance with a very narrow bridge; and then, letting loose into the enclosure three or four of their tame females, they themselves lie in wait under cover in hidden huts. Now the wild elephants do not approach by day, but they make the entrance one by one at night; and when they have entered, the men close the entrance secretly; and then, leading the most courageous of their tame combatants into the enclosure, they fight it out with the wild elephants, at the same time wearing them down also by starvation; and, once the animals are worn out, the boldest of the riders secretly dismount and each

creeps under the belly of his own riding-elephant, and then, starting from here, creeps under the wild elephant and binds his feet together; and when this is done, they command the tamed elephants to beat those whose feet have been bound until they fall to the ground; and when they fall, the men fasten their necks to those of the tamed elephants with thongs of raw ox-hide; and in order that the wild elephants, when they shake those who are attempting to mount them, may not shake them off, the man make incisions round their necks and put the thongs round at these incisions, so that through pain they yield to their bonds and keep quiet. Of the elephants captured, they reject those that are too old or too young for service and lead the rest to the stalls; and then, having tied their feet to one another and their necks to a firmly planted pillar, they subdue them by hunger; and then they restore them with green cane and grass. After this the elephants are taught to obey commands, some through words of command and others through being charmed by tunes and drum-beating. Those that are hard to tame are rare; for by nature the elephant is of a mild and gentle disposition, so that it is close to a rational animal; and some elephants have even taken up their riders who had fallen from loss of blood in the fight and carried them safely out of the battle, while others have fought for, and rescued, those who had crept between their fore-legs. And if in anger they have killed one of their feeders or masters, they yearn after him so strongly that through grief they abstain from food and sometimes even starve themselves to death.

43. They copulate and bear young like horses, mostly in the spring. It is breeding-time for the male when he is seized with frenzy and becomes ferocious; at that time he discharges a kind of fatty matter through the breathing-hole which he has beside his temples. And it is breeding-time for the females when this same passage is open. They are pregnant eighteen months at the most and sixteen at the least; and the mother nurses her young six years. Most of them live as long as very long-lived human beings, and some continue to live even to two hundred years, although they are subject to many diseases and are hard to cure. A remedy for eye-diseases is to bathe the eyes with cow's milk; but for most diseases they are given dark wine to drink; and, in the case of wounds, melted butter is applied to them (for it draws out the bits of iron), while ulcers are poulticed with swine's flesh. Onesicritus says that they live as long

as three hundred years and in rare cases even as long as five hundred; but that they are most powerful when about two hundred years of age, and that females are pregnant for a period of ten years. And both he and others state that they are larger and stronger than the Libyan elephants; at any rate, standing up on their hind feet, they tear down battlements and pull up trees by the roots by means of the proboscis. Nearchus says that in the hunt for them foot-traps also are put at places where tracks meet, and that the wild elephants are driven together into these by the tamed ones, which latter are stronger and guided by riders; and that they are so easy to tame that they learn to throw stones at a mark and to use weapons; and that they are excellent swimmers; and that a chariot drawn by elephants is considered a very great possession, and that they are driven under yoke like camels; and that a woman is highly honoured if she receives an elephant as a gift from a lover. But this statement is not in agreement with that of the man who said that horse and elephant were possessed by kings alone.<sup>21</sup>

44. Nearchus says that the skins of gold-mining ants are like those of leopards. But **Megasthenes** speaks of these ants as follows: that among the Derdae, a large tribe of Indians living towards the east and in the mountains, there is a plateau approximately three thousand stadia in circuit, and that below it are gold mines, of which the miners are ants, animals that are no smaller than foxes, are surpassingly swift, and live on the prey they catch. They dig holes in winter and heap up the earth at the mouths of the holes, like moles; and the gold-dust requires but little smelting. The neighbouring peoples go after it on beasts of burden by stealth, for if they go openly the ants fight it out with them and pursue them when they flee, and then, having overtaken them, exterminate both them and their beasts; but to escape being seen by the ants, the people lay out pieces of flesh of wild beasts at different places, and when the ants are drawn away from around the holes, the people take up the gold-dust and, not knowing how to smelt it, dispose of it unwrought to traders at any price it will fetch.

45. But since, in my account of the hunters and of the wild beasts, I have mentioned what both **Megasthenes** and others have said, I must go on to add the following. Nearchus wonders at the number of the reptiles and their viciousness, for he says that at the time of the inundations they flee up from the plains into



the settlements that escape the inundations, and fill the houses; and that on this account, accordingly, the inhabitants not only make their beds high, but sometimes even move out of their houses when infested by too many of them; and that if the greater part of the multitude of reptiles were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be depopulated; and that the smallness of some of them is troublesome as well as the huge size of others, the small ones because it is difficult to guard against them, and the huge ones because of their strength, inasmuch as vipers even sixteen cubits long are to be seen; and that charmers go around who are believed to cure the wounds; and that this is almost the only art of medicine, for the people do not have many diseases on account of the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine; but that if diseases arise, they are cured by the Wise Men. But Aristobulus says that he saw none of the animals of the huge size that are everywhere talked about, except a viper nine cubits and one span long. And I myself saw one of about the same size in Aegypt that had been brought from India. He says that you have many much smaller vipers, and asps, and large scorpions, but that none of these is so troublesome as the slender little snakes that are no more than a span long, for they are found hidden in tents, in vessels, and in hedges, and that persons bitten by them bleed from every pore with anguish, and then die unless they receive aid immediately; but that aid is easy because of the virtue of the Indian roots and drugs. He says further that crocodiles, neither numerous nor harmful to man, are to be found in the Indus, and also that most of the other animals are the same as those which are found in the Nile except the hippopotamus. Onesicritus, however, says that this animal too is found in India. And Aristobulus says that on account of the crocodiles no sea-fish swim up into the Nile except the *thrissa*, the *cestreus*, and the dolphin, but that there is a large number of different fish in the Indus. Of the *carides*, the small ones swim up the Indus only as far as a mountain, but the large ones as far as the confluence of the Indus and the Acesines. So much, then, is reported about the wild animals. Let me now return to **Megasthenes** and continue his account from the point where I left off.

46. After the hunters and the shepherds, he says, follows the fourth caste—the artisans, the tradesmen, and the day-labourers; and of these, some pay tribute to the State and render servi-

ces prescribed by the State, whereas the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions, at a published scale, from the king, for these work for him alone; and arms are furnished the soldiers by the commander-in-chief, whereas the ships are let out for hire to sailors and merchants by the admiral.

47. The fifth caste is that of the warriors, who, when they are not in service, spend their lives in idleness and at drinking-bouts, being maintained at the expense of the royal treasury; so that they make their expeditions quickly when need arises, since they bring nothing else of their own but their bodies.

48. The sixth is that of the inspectors, to whom it is given to inspect what is being done and report secretly to the king, using the courtesans as colleagues, the city inspectors using the city courtesans and the camp inspectors the camp courtesans; but the best and most trustworthy men are appointed to this office.

49. The seventh is that of the advisers and councillors of the king, who hold the chief offices of State, the judgeships, and the administration of everything. It is not legal for a man either to marry a wife from another caste or to change one's pursuit or work from one to another; nor yet for the same man to engage in several, except in case he should be one of the philosophers, for, **Megasthenes** says, the philosopher is permitted to do so on account of his superiority.

50. Of the officials, some are market commissioners, others are city commissioners<sup>22</sup> and others are in charge of the soldiers. Among these, the first keep the rivers improved and the land re-measured, as in Aegypt, and inspect the closed canals from which the water is distributed into the conduits, in order that all may have an equal use of it. The same men also have charge of the hunters and are authorized to reward or punish those who deserve either. They also collect the taxes and superintend the crafts connected with the land—those of wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. And they make roads, and at every ten stadia place pillars showing the by-roads and the distances.

51. The city commissioners are divided into six groups of five each. One group looks after the arts of the handicraftsmen. Another group entertains strangers, for they assign them lodgings, follow closely their behaviour, giving them attendants, and either escort them forth or forward the property of those who die; and they take care of them when they are sick and bury them when they die. The third group is that of those who scru-

tinize births and deaths, when and how they take place, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births and deaths, whether better or worse, may not be unknown. The fourth group is that which has to do with sales and barter; and these look after measures and the fruits of the season, that the latter may be sold by stamp. But the same man cannot barter more than one thing without paying double taxes. The fifth group is that of those who have charge of the works made by artisans and sell these by stamp, the new apart from the old; and the man who mixes them is fined. The sixth and last group is that of those who collect a tenth part of the price of the things sold; and death is the penalty for the man who steals. These are the special duties performed by each group, but they all take care jointly of matters both private and public, and of the repairs of public works, of prices, market-places, harbours, and temples.

52. After the city commissioners there is a third joint administration, in charge of military affairs, which is also divided into six groups of five each. Of these groups, one is stationed with the admiral; another with the man in charge of the ox-teams, by which are transported instruments of war and food for both man and beast and all other requisites of the army. These also furnish the menials, I mean drum-beaters, gong-carriers, as also grooms and machinists and their assistants; and they send forth the foragers to the sound of bells, and effect speed and safety by means of reward and punishment. The third group consists of those in charge of the infantry; the fourth, of those in charge of the horses; the fifth, of those in charge of the chariots; and the sixth, of those in charge of the elephants. The stalls for both horses and beasts are royal, and the armoury is also royal; for the soldier returns the equipment to the armoury, the horse to the royal horse-stable, and likewise the beast; and they use them without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen; but the horses are led by halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed by harness, and also that the spirit they have when drawing chariots may not be dulled. There are two combatants in each chariot in addition to the charioteer; but the elephant carries four persons, the driver and three bowmen, and these three shoot arrows from the elephant's back.

53. All Indians live a simple life, and especially when they are on expeditions; and neither do they enjoy useless disturbances; and on this account they behave in an orderly manner.

But their greatest self-restraint pertains to theft; at any rate, **Megasthenes** says that when he was in the camp of Sandrocottus, although the number in camp was forty thousand, he on no day saw reports of stolen articles that were worth more than two hundred drachmae; and that too among a people who use unwritten laws only. For, he continues, they have no knowledge of written letters;<sup>23</sup> and regulate every single thing from memory; but still they fare happily, because of their simplicity and their frugality; and indeed they do not drink wine, except at sacrifices, but drink a beverage which they make from rice instead of barley; and also that their food consists for the most part of rice porridge; and their simplicity is also proven in their laws and contracts, which arises from the fact that they are not litigious; for they do not have lawsuits over either pledges or deposits, or have need of witnesses or seals, but trust persons with whom they stake their interests; and further, they generally leave unguarded what they have at their homes. Now these things tend to sobriety; but no man could approve those other habits of theirs—of always eating alone and of not having one common hour for all for dinner and breakfast instead of eating as each one likes; for eating in the other way is more conducive to a social and civic life.

54. For exercise they approve most of all of rubbing; and, among other ways, they smooth out their bodies through means of smooth sticks of ebony. Their funerals are simple and their mounds small. But, contrary to their simplicity in general, they like to adorn themselves; for they wear apparel embroidered with gold, and use ornaments set with precious stones, and wear gay-coloured linen garments, and are accompanied with sun-shades; for, since they esteem beauty, they practise everything that can beautify their appearance. Further, they respect alike virtue and truth; and therefore they give no precedence even to the age of old men, unless these are also superior in wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they purchase from their parents, and they get them in exchange for a yoke of oxen, marrying some of them for the sake of prompt obedience and the others for the sake of pleasure and numerous offspring; but if the husband does not force them to be chaste, they are permitted to prostitute themselves. No one wears a garland when he makes sacrifice or burns incense or pours out a libation; neither do they cut the throat of the victim, but strangle it, in order that it may be given

to the god in its entirety and not mutilated. Anyone caught guilty of false-witness has his hands and feet cut off, and anyone who maims a person not only suffers in return the same thing, but also has his hands cut off; and if he causes the loss of a hand or an eye of a craftsman, he is put to death. But although **Megasthenes** says that no Indian uses slaves, Onesicritus declares that slavery is peculiar to the Indians in the country of Musicanus, and tells what a success it is there, just as he mentions many other successes of this country, speaking of it as a country excellently governed.

55. Now the care of the king's person is committed to women, who also are purchased from their fathers; and the bodyguards and the rest of the military force are stationed outside the gates. And a woman who kills a king when he is drunk receives as her reward the privilege of consorting with his successor; and their children succeed to the throne. Again, the king does not sleep in daytime; and even at night he is forced to change his bed from time to time because of the plots against him. Among the non-military departures he makes from his palace, one is that to the courts, where he spends the whole day hearing cases to the end, none the less even if the hour comes for the care of his person. This care of his person consists of his being rubbed with sticks of wood, for while he is hearing the cases through, he is also rubbed by four men who stand around him and rub him. A second departure is that to the sacrifices. A third is that to a kind of Bacchic chase wherein he is surrounded by women, and, outside them, by the spear-bearers. The road is lined with ropes; and death is the penalty for anyone who passes inside the ropes to the women; and they are preceded by drum-beaters and gong-carriers. The king hunts in the fenced enclosures, shooting arrows from a platform in his chariot (two or three armed women stand beside him), and also in the unfenced hunting-grounds from an elephant; and the women ride partly in chariots, partly on horses, and partly on elephants, and they are equipped with all kinds of weapons, as they are when they go on military expeditions with the men.

56. Now these customs are very novel as compared with our own, but the following are still more so. For example, **Megasthenes** says that the men who inhabit the Caucasus have intercourse with the women in the open and that they eat the bodies of their kinsmen; and that the monkeys are stone-rollers, and,

haunting precipices, roll stones down upon their pursuers; and that most of the animals which are tame in our country are wild in theirs. And he mentions horses with one horn and the head of a deer; and reeds, some straight up thirty fathoms in length, and others lying flat on the ground fifty fathoms, and so large that some are three cubits and others six in diameter.

57. But **Megasthenes**, going beyond all bounds to the realm of myth, speaks of people five spans long and three spans<sup>24</sup> long, some without nostrils, having instead merely two breathing orifices above their mouths; and he says that it is the people three spans long that carry on war with the cranes (the war to which Homer refers) and with the partridges, which are as large as geese; and that these people pick out and destroy the eggs of the cranes, which, he adds, lay eggs there; and that it is on this account that neither eggs nor, of course, young cranes are anywhere to be found; and that very often a crane escapes from the fights there with a bronze arrow-point in its body. Like this, also, are the stories of the people that sleep in their ears, and the wild people, and other monstrosities. Now the wild people, he continues, could not be brought to Sandrocottus, for they would starve themselves to death; and they have their heels in front, with toes and flat of the foot behind; but certain mouthless people were brought to him, a gentle folk; and they live round the sources of the Ganges; and they sustain themselves by means of vapours from roasted meats and odours from fruits and flowers, since instead of mouths they have only breathing orifices; and they suffer pain when they breathe bad odours, and on this account can hardly survive, particularly in a camp. He says that the other peoples were described to him by the philosophers, who reported the *Ocypodes*,<sup>25</sup> a people who run away faster than horses; and *Enotocoetae*,<sup>26</sup> who have ears that extend to their feet, so that they can sleep in them, and are strong enough to pluck up trees and to break bowstrings; and another people, *Monommati*,<sup>27</sup> with dog's ears, with the eye in the middle of the forehead, with hair standing erect, and with shaggy breasts; and that the *Amyc-teres*<sup>28</sup> eat everything, including raw meat, and live but a short time, dying before old age; and the upper lip protrudes much more than the lower. Concerning the *Hypermoreans* who live a thousand years he says the same things as Simonides and Pindar and other myth-tellers. The statement of Timagenes is also a

myth, that brass rained from the sky in brazen drops and was swept down.<sup>29</sup> But Megasthenes is nearer the truth when he says that the rivers carry down gold-dust and that part of it is paid as a tax to the king; for this is also the case in Iberia.

58. Speaking of the philosophers, **Megasthenes** says that those who inhabit the mountains hymn the praises of Dionysus and point out as evidences<sup>30</sup> the wild grape-vine, which grows in their country alone, and the ivy, laurel, myrtle, box-tree, and other evergreens, no one of which is found on the far side of the Euphrates except a few in parks, which can be kept alive only with great care; and that the custom of wearing linen garments, mitres, and gay-coloured garments, and for the king to be attended by gong-carriers and drum-beaters on his departures from the palace, are also Dionysiac; but the philosophers in the plains worship Heracles. Now these statements of **Megasthenes** are mythical and refuted by many writers, and particularly those about the vine and wine; for much of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia, and the part of Media next thereafter, extending as far as Persis and Carmania, are on the far side of the Euphrates; and a large part of the country of each of these tribes is said to have good vines and good wine.

59. **Megasthenes** makes another division in his discussion of the philosophers, asserting that there are two kinds of them, one kind called Brachmanes<sup>31</sup> and the other Garmanes;<sup>32</sup> that the Brachmanes, however, enjoy fairer repute, for they are more in agreement in their dogmas; and that from conception, while in the womb, the children are under the care of learned men, who are reputed to go to the mother and the unborn child, and, ostensibly, to enchant them to a happy birth, but in truth to give prudent suggestions and advice; and that the women who hear them with the greatest pleasure are believed to be the most fortunate in their offspring; and that after the birth of children different persons, one after another, succeed to the care of them, the children always getting more accomplished teachers as they advance in years; and that the philosophers tarry in a grove in front of the city in an enclosure merely commensurate with their needs, leading a frugal life, lying on straw mattresses and skins, abstaining from animal food and the delights of love, and hearkening only to earnest words, and communicating also with anyone who wishes to hear them; and that the hearer is forbidden either to talk or to cough or even to spit; and if he does, he is banished from association with them for

that day as a man who has no control over himself; and that, after having lived in this way for thirty-seven years, they retire, each man to his own possessions, where they live more freely and under less restraint, wearing linen garments, ornaments of gold in moderation in their ears and on their hands, and partake of meats of animals that are of no help to man in his work, but abstain from pungent and seasoned food; and that they marry as many wives as possible, in order to have numerous children, for from many wives the number of earnest children would be greater; and, since they have no servants, it is necessary for them to provide for more service from children—the service that is nearest at hand; but that the Brachmanes do not share their philosophy with their wedded wives, for fear, in the first place, that they might tell some forbidden secret to the profane if they became corrupt, and, secondly, that they might desert them if they became earnest, for no person who has contempt for pleasure and toil, and likewise for life and death, is willing to be subject to another; and that the earnest man and the earnest woman are such persons; and that they converse more about death than anything else, for they believe that the life here is, as it were, that of a babe still in the womb, and that death, to those who have devoted themselves to philosophy, is birth into the true life, that is, the happy life; and that they therefore discipline themselves most of all to be ready for death; and that they believe that nothing that happens to mankind is good or bad, for otherwise some would not be grieved and others delighted by the same things, both having dream-like notions, and that the same persons cannot at one time be grieved and then in turn change and be delighted by the same things. As for the opinions of the Brachmanes about the natural world, **Megasthenes** says that some of their opinions indicate mental simplicity, for the Brachmanes are better in deeds than in words, since they confirm most of their beliefs through the use of myths; and that they are of the same opinion as the Greeks about many things; for example, their opinion that the universe was created and is destructible, as also the Greeks assert, and that it is spherical in shape, and that the god who made it and regulates it pervades the whole of it; and that the primal elements of all things else are different, but that water was the primal element of all creation and that, in addition to the four elements, there is a fifth natural element of which the heavens and the heavenly bodies are composed; and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. And



writers mention similar opinions of the Brachmanes about the seed and the soul, as also several other opinions of theirs. And they also weave in myths, like Plato, about the immortality of the soul and the judgments in Hades and other things of this kind. So much for his account of the Brachmanes.

60. As for the Garmanes, he says that the most honourable of them are named Hylobii<sup>33</sup> and that they live in forests, subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, clothed with the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and the delights of love; and that they communicate with the kings, who through messengers inquire about the causes of things and through the Hylobii worship and supplicate the Divinity; and that, after the Hylobii, the physicians are second in honor, and that they are, as it were, humanitarian philosophers, men who are of frugal habits but do not live out of doors, and subsist upon rice and barley-groats, which are given to them by everyone of whom they beg or who offers them hospitality; and that through sorcery they can cause people to have numerous offspring, and to have either male or female children; and that they cure diseases mostly through means of cereals, and not through means of medicaments; and that, among their medicaments, their ointments and their poultices are most esteemed, but that the rest of their remedies have much in them that is bad; and that both this class and the other practise such endurance, both in toils and in perseverance, that they stay in one posture all day long without moving; and that there are also diviners and enchanters, who are skilled both in the rites and in the customs pertaining to the deceased, and go about begging alms from village to village and from city to city; and that there are others more accomplished and refined than these, but that even these themselves do not abstain from the common talk about Hades, insofar as it is thought to be conducive to piety and holiness; and that women, as well as men, study philosophy with some of them, and that the women likewise abstain from the delights of love.

61. Aristobulus says that he saw two of the sophists at Taxila, both Brachmanes; and that the elder had his head shaved but that the younger had long hair, and that both were followed by disciples; and that when not otherwise engaged they spent their time in the market-place, being honoured as counsellors and being authorized to take as a gift any merchandise they wished; and that anyone whom they accosted poured over them sesame oil, in such profusion that it flowed down over their eyes; and that

since quantities of honey and sesame were put out for sale, they made cakes of it and subsisted free of charge; and that they came up to the table of Alexander, ate dinner standing, and taught him a lesson in endurance by retiring to a place near by, where the elder fell to the ground on his back and endured the sun's rays and the rains (for it was now raining, since the spring of the year had begun); and that the younger stood on one leg holding aloft in both hands a log about three cubits in length, and when one leg tired he changed the support to the other and kept this up all day long; and that the younger showed a far greater self-mastery than the elder; for although the younger followed the king a short distance, he soon turned back again towards home, and when the king went after him, the man bade him to come himself if he wanted anything of him; but that the elder accompanied the king to the end, and when he was with him changed his dress and mode of life; and that he said, when reproached by some, that he had completed the forty years of discipline which he had promised to observe; and that Alexander gave his children a present.

62. Aristobulus mentions some novel and unusual customs at Taxila; those who by reason of poverty are unable to marry off their daughters, lead them forth to the market-place in the flower of their age to the sound of both trumpets and drums (precisely the instruments used to signal the call to battle), thus assembling a crowd; and to any man who comes forward they first expose her rear parts up to the shoulders and then her front parts, and if she pleases him, and at the same time allows herself to be persuaded, on approved terms, he marries her; and the dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures; and to have several wives is a custom common also to others. And he further says that he heard that among certain tribes wives were glad to be burned up along with their deceased husbands, and that those who would not submit to it were held in disgrace; and this custom is also mentioned by other writers.

63. Onesicritus says that he himself was sent to converse with these sophists; for Alexander had heard that the people always went naked and devoted themselves to endurance, and that they were held in very great honour, and that they did not visit other people when invited, but bade them to visit them if they wished to participate in anything they did or said; and that therefore, such being the case, since to Alexander it did not seem

fitting either to visit them or to force them against their will to do anything contrary to their ancestral customs, he himself was sent; and that he found fifteen men at a distance of twenty stadia from the city, who were in different postures, standing or sitting or lying naked and motionless till evening, and that they then returned to the city; and that it was very hard to endure the sun, which was so hot that at midday no one else could easily endure walking on the ground with bare feet.

64. Onesicritus says that he conversed with one of these sophists, Calanus, who accompanied the king as far as Persis and died in accordance with the ancestral custom, being placed upon a pyre and burned up. He says that Calanus happened to be lying on stones when he first saw him; that he therefore approached him and greeted him; and told him that he had been sent by the king to learn the wisdom of the sophists and report it to him, and that if there was no objection he was ready to hear his teachings; and that when Calanus saw the mantle and broad-brimmed hat and boots he wore, he laughed at him and said: "In olden times the world was full of barley-meal and wheaten-meal, as now of dust; and fountains then flowed, some with water, others with milk and likewise with honey, and others with wine, and some with olive oil; but, by reason of his gluttony and luxury, man fell into arrogance beyond bounds. But Zeus, hating this state of things, destroyed everything and appointed for man a life of toil. And when self-control and the other virtues in general reappeared, there came again an abundance of blessings. But the condition of man is already close to satiety and arrogance, and there is danger of destruction of everything in existence." And Onesicritus adds that Calanus, after saying this, bade him, if he wished to learn, to take off his clothes, to lie down naked on the same stones, and thus to hear his teachings; and that while he was hesitating what to do, Mandanis, who was the oldest and wisest of the sophists, rebuked Calanus as a man of arrogance, and that too after censuring arrogance himself; and that Mandanis called him<sup>34</sup> and said that he commended the king because, although busied with the government of so great an empire, he was desirous of wisdom; for the king was the only philosopher in arms that he ever saw, and that it was the most useful thing in the world if those men were wise who have the power of persuading the willing, and forcing the unwilling, to learn self-control; but that he might be pardoned if, conversing through three interpre-

ters, who, with the exception of language, knew no more than the masses, he should be unable to set forth anything in his philosophy that would be useful; for that, he added, would be like expecting water to flow pure through mud !

65. At all events, all he said, according to Onesicritus, tended to this, that the best teaching is that which removes pleasure and pain from the soul; and that pain and toil differ, for the former is inimical to man and the latter friendly, since man trains the body for toil in order that his opinions may be strengthened, whereby he may put a stop to dissensions and be ready to give good advice to all, both in public and in private; and that, furthermore, he had now advised Taxiles to receive Alexander, for if he received a man better than himself he would be well treated, but if inferior, he would improve him. Onesicritus says that, after saying this, Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks; and that when he answered that Pythagoras taught such doctrines, and also bade people to abstain from meat, as did also Socrates and Diogenes, and that he himself had been a pupil of Diogenes, Mandanis replied that he regarded the Greeks as sound-minded in general, but that they were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature; for otherwise, Mandanis said, they would not be ashamed to go naked, like himself, and live on frugal fare; for, he added, the best house is that which requires the least repairs. And Onesicritus goes on to say that they inquire into numerous natural phenomena, including prognostics, rains, droughts, and diseases; and that when they depart for the city they scatter to the different market-places; and whenever they chance upon anyone carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they get fruit from that person as a free offering; but that if it is oil, it is poured down over them and they are anointed with it; and that the whole of a wealthy home is open to them, even to the women's apartments, and that they enter and share in meals and conversation; and that they regard disease of the body as a most disgraceful thing; and that he who suspects disease in his own body commits suicide through means of fire, piling a funeral pyre; and that he anoints himself, sits down on the pyre, orders it to be lighted, and burns without a motion.

66. Nearchus speaks of the sophists as follows: That the Brachmanes engage in affairs of State and attend the kings as counsellors; but that the other sophists investigate natural phenomena; and that Calanus is one of these; and that their wives join

them in the study of philosophy; and that the modes of life of all are severe. As for the customs of the rest of the Indians, he declares as follows: That their laws, some public and some private, are unwritten, and that they contain customs that are strange as compared with those of the other tribes; for example, among some tribes the virgins are set before all as a prize for the man who wins the victory in a fist-fight, so that they marry the victor without dowry; and among other tribes different groups cultivate the crops in common on the basis of kinship, and, when they collect the produce, they each carry off a load sufficient for sustenance during the year, but burn the remainder in order to have work to do thereafter and not be idle. Their weapons, he says, consist of bow and arrows, the latter three cubits long, or a javelin, and a small shield and a broad sword three cubits long; and instead of bridles they use nose-bands, which differ but slightly from a muzzle;<sup>35</sup> and the lips of their horses have holes pierced through them by spikes.<sup>36</sup>

67. Nearchus, in explaining the skill of the Indians in handiwork, says that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians they made imitations by sewing tufts of wool through and through with hairs and light cords and threads, and that after compressing them into felt they drew out the inserts and dyed the sponge-like felt with colours; and that makers of strigils and of oil-flasks quickly arose in great numbers; and that they write missives on linen cloth that is very closely woven, though the other writers say that they make no use of written characters; and that they use brass that is cast, and not the kind that is forged; and he does not state the reason, although he mentions the strange result that follows the use of the vessels made of cast brass, that when they fall to the ground they break into pieces like pottery. Among the statements made concerning India is also the following, that it is the custom, instead of making obeisance, to offer prayers to the kings and to all who are in authority and of superior rank. The country also produces precious stones, I mean crystals and anthracites of all kinds,<sup>37</sup> as also pearls.

68. As an example of the lack of agreement among the historians, let us compare their accounts of Calanus. They all agree that he went with Alexander and that he voluntarily died by fire in Alexander's presence; but their accounts of the manner in which he was burned up are not the same, and neither do they ascribe his act to the same cause. Some state it thus: that he

went along as a eulogiser of the king, going outside the boundaries of India contrary to the common custom of the philosophers there, for the philosophers attend the kings in India only, guiding them in their relations with the gods, as the Magi attend the Persian kings; but that at Pasargadae he fell ill, the first illness of his life, and despatched himself during his seventy-third year, paying no attention to the entreaties of the king; and that a pyre was made and a golden couch placed on it, and that he laid himself upon it, covered himself up, and was burned to death. But others state it thus: that a wooden house was built, and that it was filled with leaves and that a pyre was built on its roof, and that, being shut in as he had bidden, after the procession which he had accompanied, flung himself upon the pyre and, like a beam of timber, was burned up along with the house. But **Megasthenes** says that suicide is not a dogma among the philosophers, and that those who commit suicide are adjudged guilty of the impetuosity of youth; that some who are by nature hardy rush to meet a blow or over precipices; whereas others, who shrink from suffering, plunge into deep waters; and others, who are much suffering, hang themselves; and others, who have a fiery temperament, fling themselves into fire; and that such was Calanus, a man who was without self-control and a slave to the table of Alexander; and that therefore Calanus is censured, whereas Mandanis is commended; for when Alexander's messengers summoned Mandanis to visit the son of Zeus and promised that he would receive gifts if he obeyed, but punishment if he disobeyed, he replied that, in the first place, Alexander was not the son of Zeus, inasmuch as he was not ruler over even a very small part of the earth, and, secondly, that he had no need of gifts from Alexander, of which there was no satiety<sup>38</sup> and, thirdly, that he had no fear of threats, since India would supply him with sufficient food while he was alive, and when he died he would be released from the flesh wasted by old age and be translated to a better and purer life; and that the result was that Alexander commended him and acquiesced.

69. The following statements are also made by the historians: that the Indians worship Zeus and the Ganges River and the local deities. And when the king washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival and bring big presents, each man making rivalry in display of his own wealth. And they say that some of the ants that mine gold have wings; and that gold-dust is brought down by the rivers, as by the rivers in Iberia. And in the processions at

the time of festivals many elephants are paraded, all adorned with gold and silver, as also many four-horse chariots and ox-teams; and then follows the army, all in military uniform; and then golden vessels consisting of large basins and bowls a fathom in breadth; and tables, high chairs, drinking-cups, and bath-tubs, all of which are made of Indian copper and most of them are set with precious stones—emeralds, beryls, and Indian anthracites; and also variegated garments spangled with gold, and tame bisons, leopards, and lions, and numbers of variegated and sweet-voiced birds. And Cleitar-chus speaks of four-wheeled carriages on which large-leaved trees are carried, and of different kinds of tamed birds that cling to these trees, and states that of these birds the orion has the sweetest voice, but that the catreus, as it is called, has the most splendid appearance and the most variegated plumage; for its appearance approaches nearest that of the peacock. But one must get the rest of the description from Cleitar-chus.

70. In classifying the philosophers, writers oppose to the Brachmanes the Pramnae, a contentious and disputatious sect; and they say that the Brachmanes study natural philosophy and astronomy, but that they are derided by the Pramnae as quacks and fools; and that, of these some are called "Mountain" Pramnae, others "Naked" Pramnae, and others "City" Pramnae or "Neighbouring" Pramnae; and that the "Mountain" Pramnae wear deer-skins, and carry wallets full of roots and drugs, pretending to cure people with these, along with witchery and enchantments and amulets; and that the "Naked" Pramnae, as their name implies, live naked, for the most part in the open air, practising endurance, as I have said before,<sup>39</sup> for thirty-seven years; and that women associate with them but do not have intercourse with them; and that these philosophers are held in exceptional esteem.

71. They say that the "City" Pramnae wear linen garments and live in the city, or else out in the country, and go clad in the skins of fawns or gazelles; but that, in general, the Indians wear white clothing, white linen or cotton garments, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear highly coloured garments; and that they all wear long hair and long beards, and that they braid their hair and surround it with a head-band.

72. Artemidorus says that the Ganges River flows down from the Emoda mountains towards the south, and that when it arrives at the city Ganges it turns towards the east to Palibothra and its outlet into the sea. And he calls one of its tributaries

Oedanes, saying that it breeds both crocodiles and dolphins. And he goes on to mention certain other things, but in such a confused and careless manner that they are not to be considered. But one might add to the accounts here given that of Nicolaüs Damascenus.

73. He says that at Antioch, near Daphnê, he chanced to meet the Indian ambassadors who had been despatched to Caesar Augustus; that the letter plainly indicated more than three ambassadors, but that only three had survived (whom he says he saw), but the rest, mostly by reason of the long journeys, had died; and that the letter was written in Greek on a skin; and that it plainly showed that Porus was the writer, and that, although he was ruler of six hundred kings, still he was anxious to be a friend to Caesar, and was ready, not only to allow him a passage through his country, wherever he wished to go, but also to co-operate with him in anything that was honourable. Nicolaüs says that this was the content of the letter to Caesar, and that the gifts carried to Caesar were presented by eight naked servants, who were clad only in loin-cloths be-sprinkled with sweet-smelling odours; and that the gifts consisted of the Hermes, a man who was born without arms, whom I myself have seen, and large vipers, and a serpent ten cubits in length, and a river tortoise three cubits in length, and a partridge larger than a vulture; and they were accompanied also, according to him, by the man who burned himself up at Athens; and that whereas some commit suicide when they suffer adversity, seeking release from the ills at hand, others do so when their lot is happy, as was the case with that man; for, he adds, although that man had fared as he wished up to that time, he thought it necessary then to depart this life, lest something untoward might happen to him if he tarried here; and that therefore he leaped upon the pyre with a laugh, his naked body anointed, wearing only a loin-cloth; and that the following words were inscribed on his tomb; "Here lies Zarmanochegas,<sup>40</sup> an Indian from Bargaosa, who immortalised himself in accordance with the ancestral customs of Indians."



## II. Incidental Notices

## Summary of II. I. 1-3 :

In the Third Book of his Geography Eratosthenes divides the inhabited world into two parts by a line drawn from west to east, parallel to the equatorial line. . . . . As an evidence of this he argues that the most southerly capes of India rise opposite to the regions about Meroe, and from the capes on to the most northerly regions of India at the Caucasus Mountains,<sup>41</sup> Patrocles says the distance is fifteen thousand stadia; but the distance from Meroe to the parallel of Athens is surely about the same, and therefore the northerly parts of India, since they join the Caucasus Mountains, come to an end in this parallel.<sup>42</sup>

II. i. 4. Hipparchus controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Patrocles, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Deimachus and **Megasthenes**, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

II. i. 7. Again, Hipparchus, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenes himself with throwing discredit on Patrocles for differing from **Megasthenes** about the length of India on its northern side, **Megasthenes** making it 16,000 stadia, and Patrocles 1000 less.

II. iii. 4. He (Posidonios) also narrates how a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus . . . travelled into Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II. (Physcon); and being a learned man and much interested in the peculiarities of different countries, he made interest with the king and his ministers on the subject, but especially for exploring the Nile. It chanced that a certain Indian was brought to the king by the (coast) guard of the Arabian Gulf. They reported that they had found him in a ship alone, and half dead; but they neither knew who he was nor where he came from, as he spoke a language they could not understand. He was placed in the hands of preceptors appointed to teach him the Greek language, on acquiring which he related how he had started from the coast of India, but lost his course, and reached Egypt alone, all his companions having perished with hunger; but that if he were restored to his country he would point out to those sent with him by the king the route by sea to India. Eudoxus was

of the number thus sent. He set sail with a good supply of presents, and brought back with him in exchange aromatics and precious stones, some of which the Indians collect from amongst the pebbles of the rivers, others they dig out of the earth, where they have been formed by the moisture, as crystals are formed with us. (He fancied he had made his fortune), however, he was greatly deceived, for Euergetes took possession of the whole treasure. On the death of that prince, his widow, Cleopatra, assumed the reins of Government, and Eudoxus was again despatched with a richer cargo than before. On his journey back, he was carried by the winds above Ethiopia, and being thrown on certain (unknown) regions, he conciliated the inhabitants by presents of grain, wine, and cakes of pressed figs, articles which they were without; receiving in exchange a supply of water, and guides for the journey. He also wrote down several words of their language, and having found the end of a prow, with a horse carved on it, which he was told formed part of the wreck of a vessel coming from the west, he took it with him, and proceeded on his homeward course. He arrived safely in Egypt, where no longer Cleopatra, but her son, ruled; but he was again stripped of everything on the accusation of having appropriated to his own use a large portion of the merchandise sent out.

II. v. 12. The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Aelius Gallus, and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.

II. v. 14. That in configuration it (the habitable earth) resembles a *Chlamys* is also clear from the fact that at either end of its length the extremities taper to a point. Owing to the encroachment of the sea, it also loses something in breadth. This we know from those who have sailed round its eastern and western points. They inform us that the island called Taprobane is much to the south of India, but that it is nevertheless inhabited, and is situated opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon

country, as the temperature of their atmospheres is similar.

II. v. 32. After these mountaineers come the people dwelling beyond the Taurus. First among these is India, a nation greater and more flourishing than any other; they extend as far as the eastern sea and southern part of the Atlantic. In the most southern part of this sea opposite to India is situated the island of Taprobane, which is not less than Britain.

II. v. 5. Alexander too erected altars as boundaries of his Indian campaign in those parts of the Indies he arrived at, which were situated farthest towards the east, in imitation of Hercules and Bacchus.

V. ii. 6. The salt mines in India mentioned by Clitarchus.

XI. v. 7. They (the Aorsi and Siraces) were thus (by their possession of the larger part of the Caspian Sea) enabled to transport on camels the merchandise of India and Babylonia, receiving it from Armenians and Medes. They wore gold also in their dress in consequence of their wealth. The Aorsi live on the banks of the Tanais, and the Siraces on those of the Achardeus, which rises in Caucasus and discharges itself into the Maeotis.

XI. vii. 2. Aristobulus says that Hyrcania has forests, and produces the oak, but not the pitch pine, nor the fir, nor the pine, but that India abounds with these trees.

XI. vii. 3. Aristobulus avers that the Oxus was the largest river, except those in India, which he had seen in Asia. He says also that it is navigable with ease...and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea, and are transferred from thence into Albania by the Cyrus, and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine.

XI. xii. 4. Eratosthenes says that the fir does grow even in India, and that Alexander built his ships of that wood.

XI. viii. 9. He (Eratosthenes) assigns the following distances from the Caspian Gates to India :—

	Stadia.
To Hecatompylos .. ..	1,960
To Alexandria in the Country of the Arioi ..	4,530
Thence to Prophthasia in Dranga .. ..	1,600
(or according to others 1500)	
Thence to the city Arachotus .. ..	4,120
Thence to Ortospa to the junction of the three roads from Bactra .. ..	2,000
Thence to the confines of India .. ..	1,000
which together amount to .. ..	15,300 <sup>42</sup>

We must regard as continuous with this distance, in a straight line, the length of India reckoned from the Indus to the Eastern Sea.

XI. xi. 1. The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactra's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita.<sup>43</sup> Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus),<sup>44</sup> conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostus, and Sigerdis,<sup>45</sup> which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus, in short, says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni.<sup>46</sup>

XI. xi. 6. It is not generally admitted that persons have passed round by sea from India to Hyrcania, but Patrocles asserts it may be done.<sup>47</sup>

XVI. iv. 2. The extreme parts (of Arabia), towards the south and opposite to Ethiopia, are watered by summer showers, and are sowed twice, like the land in India.

XVI. iv. 24. Merchandise is conveyed from Leuce Come to Petra, thence to Rhinocolura in Phoenicia near Egypt, and thence to other nations. But at present the greater part is transported by the Nile to Alexandria. It is brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos, it is then conveyed on camels to Coptus of the Thebais, situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.

XVI. iv. 25. Cassia (is) the growth of bushes in Arabia, yet some writers say that the greater part of the Cassia is brought from India.

XVI. iv. 27. Alexander might be adduced to bear witness to the wealth of the Arabians, for he intended, it is said, after his return from India to make Arabia the seat of empire.

*These brief notices have been culled from Falconer's version.*

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See later, XV, i. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Cape Comorin.

<sup>3</sup> Or, by a slight emendation of the text, "in terms of the schoenus".

<sup>4</sup> i.e. 19,000 stadia.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to II. i. 4 ff., part of which has been quoted later in this section under "Incidental Notices."

<sup>6</sup> In II. i. 14 Strabo gives the length of Taprobane as "more than five thousand stadia".

<sup>7</sup> i.e. cotton.

<sup>8</sup> Probably silk is meant.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. sugar-cane.

<sup>10</sup> The reference is, of course, to the Banyan tree.

<sup>11</sup> This river is usually referred to by the Greek writers as Hydraotis, but Hyraotis more closely corresponds to the Sanskrit name Airavati.

<sup>12</sup> i.e. ox-head.

<sup>13</sup> The Hydaspes and Acesines.

<sup>14</sup> Or "nephew".

<sup>15</sup> i.e., to turn back from the Hypanis.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. para 28 above.

<sup>17</sup> See para 8.

<sup>18</sup> See para 8.

<sup>19</sup> About 120 ft.

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek passage would be, "the farmers cultivate it for wages, on condition of receiving a fourth part of the produce," whether "wages" and "fourth part" are appositional, or "on condition of" means, as it might, "in addition to". But Diodorus Siculus (2.40.5) says, ("the rentals of the country they pay to the king.... but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury"). (Note by H. L. Jones in support of his translation).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. para 41.

<sup>22</sup> The "city Commissioners" at Athens (ten in number) had charge of the police, the streets, and the public works.

<sup>23</sup> But cf. para 67 below.

<sup>24</sup> About 22½ inches.

<sup>25</sup> Swift-footed.

<sup>26</sup> i.e. men that sleep in their cars.

<sup>27</sup> i.e. one-eyed.

<sup>28</sup> i.e. people without noses.

<sup>29</sup> i.e. by rivers.

<sup>30</sup> i.e. evidences of his former presence there.

<sup>31</sup> i.e. Brahmans.

<sup>32</sup> i.e. Sramans (Buddhist monks).

<sup>33</sup> Forest-dwellers.

<sup>34</sup> Onesicritus.

<sup>35</sup> i.e. the horses are controlled by the nose with a halter-like contrivance rather than by the mouth with bridles.

<sup>36</sup> i.e. spikes, or raised points, inside the nose-bands.

<sup>37</sup> e.g. carbuncles, rubies, garnets.

<sup>38</sup> Or perhaps, "for which he had no longing".

<sup>39</sup> See paras 60,61.

<sup>40</sup> Dio Cassius refers to the same man as "Zarmarus."

<sup>41</sup> i.e. the Hindu Kush Mountain.

<sup>42</sup> This summary is based on the translation of H. L. Jones. The rest of this section (Incidental Notices) is based on McCrindle's translation (M-II, 51-2, and M-V, 97-101).

<sup>42a</sup> The sum total of the distances is 15,210, not 15,300 stadia though this figure is repeated by Strabo in XV, II, 8 (see above, p. 97).

<sup>43</sup> Apollodorus wrote a history of the Parthians. He probably flourished between 130 B.C. and 87 B.C. (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* Pp. 44-5).

<sup>44</sup> Probably the Yamuna (Jumna) river.

<sup>45</sup> These two correspond to Gujarat, Kathiawar Peninsula and Cutch.

<sup>46</sup> These refer to Central Asia. These exploits are attributed to Menander and Apollodotus by Trogus (Prologuc, XLI).

<sup>47</sup> It was long supposed by the ancients that the Caspian Sea communicated with the Northern Ocean, and hence that the Caspian could be reached by sea from India and the Eastern Ocean.

<sup>48</sup> This completes Part I of Strabo's Geography, Book XV. Part II, which follows immediately, has been reproduced above, on pp. 93 ff.

## VI. PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI

## (The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea).

The Erythraean Sea is the name given by the Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This Greek text gives an account of the trade of the settlements on the coast of this ocean and many interesting details of the voyage, partly along the coast and partly across the sea. The name of the author is unknown, but internal evidence seems to indicate that he was an Egyptian Greek and was probably himself actively engaged in trade in course of which he made the voyage from the head of the Red Sea to India. It is thus a very valuable and trustworthy account of the early trade and maritime activity between India and the western countries. It appears from certain statements made in the book that it was composed about the middle or second half of the first century A.D. It is generally regarded as earlier than Pliny's *Natural History* which was published between A.D. 73 and 77.

The text that follows is based on the English translation by McCrindle, published in 1879. There is another English translation, with copious notes, by W. H. Schoff published in 1912. Substantial differences between the two are indicated in the footnotes. In transcribing the Greek names of persons and localities, the forms adopted by McCrindle have been slightly changed in order to bring them in a line with those generally used in modern times, and followed by Schoff. The most important is the substitution of *c*, *u*, *ae*, and *v* respectively, for *k*, *ou*, *ai* and *u*. The letter *u* is also used for *o* in the middle of a name. A list of important geographical names, in the order in which they occur in the text, is given at the end (Appendix I) with identifications, which, however, in many cases cannot be regarded as definite. Names, of which no reasonable identifications are possible, have been omitted.

A full bibliography of the manuscripts and published texts are given by Schoff on Pp. 17-21 of his translation. Schoff also adds elaborate notes on the various articles of merchandise mentioned in the text. These consist, in addition to well-known cereals, textiles, and gems and precious stones of various kinds, of a number of Indian drugs and perfumes, which were known in Europe at a very early date and a detailed account of them is given in the *History of Plants* by Theophrastus. The general nature of these can be easily gathered from a dictionary.

It may be added that the elaborate notes given by both McCrindle and Schoff must be read with caution, as many of them are purely guesses or highly speculative hypotheses.

The text, reproduced below, is usually referred to as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

1. The first of the important roadsteads established on the Red Sea, and the first also of the great trading marts upon its coast, is the port of Myos-hormos<sup>1</sup> in Egypt. Beyond it at a distance of 1800 stadia is Berenike, which is to your right if you approach it by sea. These roadsteads are both situated at the furthest end of Egypt, and are bays of the Red Sea.

2. The country which adjoins them on the right below Berenike is Barbaria. Here the sea board is peopled by the Ikhtyophagoi (Fish-eaters), who live in scattered huts<sup>2</sup> built in the narrow gorges of the hills, and further inland are the Berbers, and beyond them the Agriophagoi (Wild-flesh-eaters) and

Moskhophagoi (Calf-eaters),—tribes under regular government by kings. Beyond these again, and still further inland towards the west is situated the metropolis called Meroe.

3. Below the Moskhophagoi, near the sea, lies a little trading town distant from Berenike about 4000 stadia, called Ptolemais Theron,<sup>3</sup> from which, in the days of the Ptolemies, the hunters employed by them used to go up into the interior to catch elephants.<sup>4</sup> In this mart is procured the true (or marine) tortoise-shell and the land kind also, which, however, is scarce, of a white colour, and smaller size. A little ivory is also sometimes obtainable, resembling that of Aduli.<sup>5</sup> This place has no port, and is approachable only by boats.

4. Leaving Ptolemais Theron we are conducted at the distance of about 3000 stadia, to Aduli, a regular and established<sup>6</sup> port of trade situated on a deep bay the direction of which is due south. Facing it, at a distance seaward of about 200 stadia from the inmost recess of the bay, lies an island called Oreine (or the mountainous) which runs on either side parallel with the mainland. Ships, that come to trade with Aduli, nowadays anchor here, to avoid being attacked from the shore; for in former times when they used to anchor at the very head of the bay, beside an island called Diodoros, which was so close to land that the sea was fordable, the neighbouring barbarians, taking advantage of this, would run across to attack the ships at their moorings. At the distance of 20 stadia from the sea, opposite Oreine, is the village of Aduli, which is not of any great size, and inland from this a three days' journey is a city Coloe, the first market where ivory can be procured. From Coloe it takes a journey of five days to reach the metropolis of the people called the Auxumitai, whereto is brought through the province called Cyeneion,<sup>7</sup> all the ivory obtained on the other side of the Nile, before it is sent on to Aduli. The whole mass, I may say, of the elephants and rhinoceroses which are killed to supply the trade frequent the uplands of the interior, though at rare times they are seen near the coast, even in the neighbourhood of Aduli. Besides the islands already mentioned a cluster consisting of many small ones lies out in the sea to the right of this port. They bear the name of Alalaiou, and yield the tortoises<sup>8</sup> with which the Ikththyophagoi supply the market.

5. Below Aduli, about 800 stadia, occurs another very deep bay, at the entrance of which on the right are vast accumula-

tions of sand, wherein is found deeply embedded the Opsian stone, which is not obtainable anywhere else. The king of all this country, from the Moskhophagoi to the other end of Barbaria, is Zoscales,<sup>8a</sup> a man at once of penurious habits and of a grasping disposition but otherwise honourable in his dealings and instructed in the Greek language.

6. The articles which these places import are the following:

Cloth undressed, of Egyptian manufacture, for the Barbarian market; robes manufactured at Arsinoe; cloaks, made of a poor cloth imitating a better quality, and dyed. Linens; striped cloths and fringed; mantles with a double fringe; many sorts of glass or crystal, and of that other transparent stone called Murrhina, made at Diospolis; yellow copper, for ornaments and cut into pieces to pass for money; sheets of soft copper used for culinary vessels and cutting into bracelets and anklets worn by certain classes of women. Iron, used in making spearheads for hunting the elephant and other animals and in making weapons of war; hatchets, adzes; swords; drinking vessels of brass, large and round; a small quantity of denarii for the use of merchants resident in the country; wine, Laodikean, i.e. Syrian, from Laodike (now Latakia), and Italian, but not much; gold and silver plate made according to the fashion of the country for the king; Cloaks for riding or for the camp; dresses simply made of skins with the hair or fur on. These two articles of dress are not of much value.

The articles imported from Ariake across the sea are:

Indian iron, sharp blades,<sup>9</sup> Indian cotton cloth of great width; cotton for stuffing; sashes or girdles; dresses of skin with the hair or fur on; webs of cloth mallow tinted; fine muslins in small quantity; coloured lac.

The articles locally produced for export are: ivory, tortoise shell, and rhinoceros;<sup>10</sup> Most of the goods which supply the market arrive<sup>11</sup> any time from January to September—that is, from Tybi to Thoth. The best season, however, for ships from Egypt to put in here is about the month of September.

7. From this bay the Arabian Gulf trends eastward, and at Avalites is contracted to its narrowest. At a distance of about 4000 stadia (from Aduli), if you still sail along the same coast, you reach other marts of Barbaria, called the marts beyond (the Straits), which occur in successive order, and which, though harbourless, afford at certain seasons of the year good and safe anchorage. The first district you come to is that called Avalites,



where the passage across the strait to the opposite point of Arabia is shortest. Here is a small port of trade, called, like the district, Avalites, which can be approached only by little boats and rafts.

The imports of this place are—

Flint glass of various sorts, juice of the sour grape of Diospolis; cloths of different kinds worn in Barbaria dressed by the fuller; corn; wine; a little tin. The exports which are sometimes conveyed on rafts across the straits by the Berbers themselves to Ocelis and Muza on the opposite coast, are : Odoriferous gums; ivory in small quantity; tortoise shell; myrrh in very small quantity, but of the finest sort; macer. The barbarians forming the population of the place are rude and lawless men.

8. Beyond Avalites there is another mart, superior to it, called Malao, at a distance by sea of 800 stadia. The anchorage is an open road, sheltered, however, by a cape protruding eastward. The people are of a more peaceable disposition than their neighbours. The imports are such as have been already specified, with the addition of—

Tunics in great quantity, coarse cloaks (or blankets) manufactured at Arsinoe, prepared by the fuller and dyed; a few utensils, sheets of soft copper; iron; specie, gold and silver, but not much. The exports from this locality are—Myrrh; frankincense which we call peratic i.e. from beyond the straits, a little only; cinnamomum of a hard grain, douaka (an inferior kind of cinnamon); the gum (for fumigation) *Kangkamon*; 'dekamali', gum; the spice macer, which is carried to Arabia; slaves, a few.

9. Distant from Malao a two days' sail is the trading port of Moundou, where ships find a safer anchorage by mooring at an island which lies very close to shore. The exports and imports are similar to those of the preceding marts, with the addition of the fragrant gum called Mocrotu, a peculiar product of the place. The native traders here are uncivilized in their manners.

10. After Mundu, if you sail eastward as before for two or three days, there comes next Mosullon, where it is difficult to anchor. It imports the same sorts of commodities as have been already mentioned, and also utensils of silver and others of iron but not so many, and glass ware. It exports a vast amount of cinnamon (whence it is a port requiring ships of heavy burden) and other fragrant and aromatic products, besides tortoise shell, but in no great quantity, and the incense called mokrotu inferior to that of Moundou, and frankincense brought from parts further

distant, and ivory and myrrh though in small quantity.

11. After leaving Mosullon, and sailing past a place called Neiloptolemaios, and past Tapatege<sup>12</sup> and the Little Laurel grove, you are conducted in two days to Cape Elephant. Here is a stream called Elephant River, and the Great Laurel grove called Akannai, where and where only, is produced the peratic frankincense. The supply is most abundant, and it is of the very finest quality.

12. After this, the coast now inclining to the south, succeeds the mart of Aromata,<sup>13</sup> and a bluff headland running out eastward which forms the termination of the Barbarine coast. The roadstead is an open one, and at certain seasons dangerous, as the place lies exposed to the north wind. A coming storm gives warning of its approach, by a peculiar prognostic, for the sea turns turbid at the bottom and changes its colour. When this occurs, all hasten for refuge to the great promontory called Tabai, which affords a secure shelter. The imports into this mart are such as have been already mentioned; while its products are cinnamon, gizeir (a finer sort of cinnamon), asuphe (an ordinary sort), fragrant gums, magla, moto (an inferior cinnamon) and frankincense.

13. If, on sailing from Tabai, you follow the coast of the peninsula formed by the promontory, you are carried by the force of a strong current to another mart 400 stadia distant called Opone which imports the commodities already mentioned but produces most abundantly cinnamon spice, moto, slaves of a very superior sort, chiefly for the Egyptian market, and tortoise shell of small size but in large quantity and of the finest quality known.

14. Ships set sail from Egypt for all these ports beyond the straits about the month of July—that is, Epiphi. The same markets are also regularly supplied with the products of places far beyond them—Ariake and Barygaza. These products are—

Corn;<sup>14</sup> rice; clarified butter, i.e. *ghī*; oil of sesamum; fine cotton called Monakhe, and a coarse kind for stuffing called Sagmatogene; sashes or girdles; honey of a reed, called sugar.

Some traders undertake voyages expressly for these market-towns while others as they sail along the coast we are describing exchange their cargoes for such others as they can procure. There is no king who reigns paramount over all this region, but each separate seat of trade is ruled by an independent despot of its own.

15. After Opone the coast now trending more to the south

you come first to what are called the little and the great Apokopa (or Bluffs) of Azania, where there are no harbours but only roads in which one can conveniently anchor. The navigation of this coast, the direction of which is now to the south-west, occupies six days. Then follow the Little Coast and the Great Coast, occupying another six days, when in due order succeed the Dromoi (or Courses) of Azania, the one going by the name of Sarapion, and the other by that of Nikon. Proceeding thence, you pass the mouths of numerous rivers, and then a succession of other roadsteads lying apart one from another a day's distance either by sea or by land. There are seven of them altogether, and they reach on to the Pyraloi islands and the narrow strait called the Canal, beyond which, where the coast changes its direction from south-west slightly more to south, you are conducted by a voyage of two days and two nights to Menuthias, an island stretching towards sunset, and distant from the mainland about 300 stadia. It is low-lying and woody, has rivers, and a vast variety of birds, and yields the mountain tortoise, but it has no wild beasts at all, except only crocodiles, which, however, are quite harmless. The boats are here made of planks sewn together attached to a keel, or (canoes) hollowed from single logs of wood, and these are used for fishing and for catching turtle. This is also caught in another mode, peculiar to the island, by lowering wicker baskets instead of nets, and fixing them against the mouths of the cavernous rocks which lie out in the sea confronting the beach.

16. At the distance of a two days' sail from this island lies the last of the marts of Azania, called Rhapta, a name which it derives from the sewn boats just mentioned. Ivory is procured here in the greatest abundance, and also turtle. The indigenous inhabitants are men of huge stature, who live apart from each other, every man ruling like a lord his own domain.<sup>15</sup> The whole territory is governed by the despot of Mopharitis, because the sovereignty over it, by some right of old standing, is vested in the kingdom of what is (called the Fist Arabia).<sup>15a</sup> The merchants of Muza farm its revenues from the king, and employ in trading with it a great many ships of heavy burden, on board of which they have Arabian commanders and factors who are intimately acquainted with the natives and have contracted marriage with them, and know their language and the navigation of the coast.

17. The articles imported into these marts are principally

javelins manufactured at Muza, hatchets, knives, awls, and glass of various sorts, to which must be added corn and wine in no small quantity landed at particular ports, not for sale, but to entertain and thereby conciliate the barbarians. The articles which these places export are ivory, in great abundance but of inferior quality to that obtained at Aduli, rhinoceros, and tortoise shell of fine quality, second only to the Indian, and little nauplius.<sup>16</sup>

18. These marts, we may say, are about the last on the coast of Azania, the coast, that is, which is on your right as you sail south from Berenike. For beyond these parts an ocean, hitherto unexplored, curves round towards sunset, and stretching along the southern extremities of Ethiopia, Libya, and Africa, amalgamates with the Western Sea.

19. To the left, again, of Berenike, if you sail eastward from Myos Hormos across the adjacent gulf for two days or perhaps three you arrive at a place having a port and a fortress which is called Leuke Kome, and forming the point of communication with Petra, the residence of Malikhas, the king of the Nabataeans. It ranks as an emporium of trade, since small vessels come to it laden with merchandize from Arabia; and hence an officer is deputed to collect the duties which are levied on imports at the rate of twenty-five per cent. of their value and also a centurion who commands the garrison by which the place is protected.

20. Beyond this mart, and quite contiguous to it, is the realm of Arabia, which stretches to a great distance along the coast of the Red Sea. It is inhabited by various tribes, some speaking the same language with a certain degree of uniformity, and others a language totally different. Here also, as on the opposite continent, the sea board is occupied by Ikhthyophagoi, who live in dispersed huts; while the men of the interior live either in villages, or where pasture can be found, and are an evil race of men, speaking two different languages. If a vessel is driven from her course upon this shore she is plundered and if wrecked the crew on escaping to land are reduced to slavery. For this reason they are treated as enemies and captured by the chiefs and kings of Arabia. They are called Carnites. Altogether therefore, the navigation of this part of the Arabian coast is very dangerous: for apart from the barbarity of its people, it has neither harbours nor good roadsteads, and it is foul with breakers, and girdled with rocks which render it inaccessible. For this reason when sailing south we stand off from a shore in every way so

dreadful, and keep our course down the middle of the gulf, straining our utmost to reach the more civilized part of Arabia, which begins at Burnt Island. From this onward the people are under a regular government and as their country is pastoral, they keep herds of cattle and camels.

21. Beyond this tract, and on the shore of a bay which occurs at the termination of the left (or east) side of the gulf is Muza, an established and notable mart of trade at a distance south from Berenike of not more than 12,000 stadia. The whole place is full of Arabian shipmasters and common sailors, and is absorbed in the pursuits of commerce, for with ships of its own fitting out it trades with the marts beyond the Straits on the opposite coast, and also with Barygaza.

22. Above this a three days' journey off lies the city of Saue, in the district called Mopharitis. It is the residence of Cholaibos, the despot of that country.

23. A journey of nine days more conducts us to Saphar, the metropolis of Charibael, the rightful sovereign of two contiguous tribes, the Homerites and the Sabitai, and, by means of frequent embassies and presents, the friend of the Emperors.

24. The mart of Muza has no harbour, but its sea is smooth and the anchorage good, owing to the sandy nature of the bottom. The commodities which it imports are—

Purple cloth, fine and ordinary; garments made up in the Arabian fashion, some plain and common, and others wrought in needlework and inwoven with gold; saffron; the aromatic rush Kyperos, muslins; cloaks; quilts in small quantity, some plain, others adapted to the fashion of the country; sashes of various shades of colour; perfumes a moderate quantity; specie as much as is required;<sup>17</sup> wine and corn, but not much.

The country produces a little wheat and a great abundance of wine. Both the king and the despot above mentioned receive presents consisting of horses, pack saddle mules, gold plate, silver plate embossed, robes of great value, and utensils of brass. Muza exports its own local products: myrrh of the finest quality that has oozed in drops from the trees, both the Gabiraeon and Minoean kinds; white marble (or alabaster), in addition to commodities brought from the other side of the Gulf, all such as were enumerated at Aduli. The most favourable season for making a voyage to Muza is the month of September, that is Thoth, but there is nothing to prevent it being made earlier.

25. If on proceeding from Muza you sail by the coast for about a distance of 300 stadia, there occurs, where the Arabian mainland and the opposite coast of Barbaria at Avalites now approach each other, a channel of no great length which contracts the sea and encloses it within narrow bounds. This is 60 stadia wide, and in crossing it you come midway upon the island of Diodorus, to which it is owing that the passage of the straits is in its neighbourhood exposed to violent winds which blow down from the adjacent mountains. There is situated upon the shore of the straits an Arabian village subject to the same ruler (as Muza), Ocelis by name, which is not so much mart of commerce as a place for anchorage and supplying water, and where those who are bound for the interior first land and halt to refresh themselves.

26. Beyond Ocelis, the sea again widening out towards the east, and gradually expanding into the open main, there lies, at about the distance of 1,200 stadia, Eudaemon Arabia, a maritime village subject to that kingdom of which Charibael is sovereign, a place with good anchorage, and supplied with sweeter and better water than that of Ocelis, and standing at the entrance of a bay where the land begins to retire inwards. It was called Eudaemon (rich and prosperous) because in bygone days, when the merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt and those from Egypt did not venture to cross over to the marts further east, but both came only as far as this city, it formed the common centre of their commerce, as Alexandria receives the wares which pass to and fro between Egypt and the ports of the Mediterranean. Now, however, it lies in ruins, the Emperor (Charibael) having destroyed it not long before our own times.

27. To Eudaemon Arabia at once succeeds a great length of coast and a bay extending 2,000 stadia or more, inhabited by nomadic tribes and Ikhthyophagoi settled in villages. On doubling a cape which projects from it you come to another trading seaport, Cana, which is subject to Eleazus, king of the incense country. Two barren islands lie opposite to it, 120 stadia off—one called Orneon, and the other Troullas. At some distance inland from Cana is Sabbathath the principal city of the district, where the king resides. At Cana is collected all the incense that is produced in the country, this being conveyed to it partly on camels, and partly by sea on floats supported on inflated skins, a local invention, and also in boats. Cana carries on

trade with ports across the ocean—Barygaza, Scythia, and Omana, and the adjacent coast of Persis.

28. From Egypt it imports like Muza, corn and a little wheat,<sup>18</sup> cloths for the Arabian market both of the common sort and the plain, and large quantities of a sort that is spurious; also copper, tin, coral, styrax and all the other articles enumerated at Muza. Besides these there are brought also, principally for the king, wrought silver plate, and specie as well as horses and carved images, and plain cloth of a superior quality. Its exports are its indigenous products, frankincense and aloes, and such commodities as it shares in common with other marts on the same coast. Ships sail for this port at the same season of the year as those bound for Muza but earlier.

29. As you proceed from Cana the land retires more and more and there succeeds another very deep and far-stretching gulf, Sachalites by name, and also the frankincense country, which is mountainous and difficult of access, having a dense air loaded with vapours and the frankincense exhaled from the trees. These trees, which are not of any great size or height, yield their incense in the form of a concretion on the bark, just as several of our trees in Egypt exude gum. The incense is collected by the hand of the king's slaves, and malefactors condemned to this service as a punishment. The country is unhealthy in the extreme:—pestilential even to those who sail along the coast, and mortal to the poor wretches who gather the incense, who also suffer from lack of food, which readily cuts them off.

30. Now at this gulf is a promontory the greatest in the world, looking towards the east, and called Syagrus, at which is a fortress which protects the country and a harbour and a magazine to which the frankincense which is collected is brought. Out in the open sea, facing this promontory, and lying between it and the promontory of Aromate (Cape of spaces) which projects from the opposite coast, though nearer to Syagrus, is the island going by the name of Dioscorida, which is of great extent, but desert and very moist, having rivers and crocodiles and a great many vipers, and lizards of enormous size, of which the flesh serves for food, while the grease is melted down and used as a substitute for oil. This island does not, however, produce either the grape or corn. The population which is but scanty, inhabits the north side of the island—that part of it which looks towards the mainland (of Arabia). It consists of an intermixture of

foreigners, Arabs, Indians, and even Greeks, who resort hither for the purposes of commerce. The island produces the tortoise, —the genuine, the land, and the white sort, the latter very abundant, and distinguished for the largeness of its shell; also the mountain sort which is of extraordinary size and has a very thick shell, whereof the underpart cannot be used, being too hard to cut, while the serviceable part is made into money-boxes, tablets, escritiores, and ornamental articles of that description. It yields also the vegetable dye called Indicum (or Dragon's blood),<sup>19</sup> which is gathered as it distils from trees.

31. The island is subject to the king of the frankincense country, in the same way as Azania is subject to Charibael and the despot of Mopharitis. It used to be visited by some (merchants) from Muza, and others on the homeward voyage from Limyrike<sup>20</sup> and Barygaza would occasionally touch at it, importing rice, corn, Indian cotton and female slaves, who, being rare, always commanded a ready market. In exchange for these commodities they would receive as fresh cargo great quantities of tortoise shell. The revenues of the island are at present day farmed out by its sovereigns, who, however, maintain a garrison in it for the protection of their interests.

32. Immediately after Syagrus follows a gulf deeply indenting the mainland of Omana, and having a width of 600 stadia. Beyond it are high mountains, rocky and precipitous, and inhabited by men who live in caves. The range extends onward for 500 stadia, and beyond where it terminates lies an important harbour called Moscha, the appointed port to which the Sachalitic frankincense is forwarded. It is regularly frequented by a number of ships from Cana; and such ships as come from Limyrike and Barygaza too late in the season put into harbour here for the winter, where they dispose of their muslins, corn and oil to the king's officers, receiving in exchange frankincense, which lies in piles throughout the whole of Sachalitis without a guard to protect it, as if the locality were indebted to some divine power for its security. Indeed, it is impossible to procure a cargo, either publicly or by stealth, without the king's permission. Should one take furtively on board were it but a single grain, his vessel can by no possibility escape from harbour.

33. From the port of Moscha onward to Asich, a distance of about 1,500 stadia, runs a range of hills pretty close to the shore, and at its termination there are seven islands bearing the



name of Zenobios, beyond which again we come to another barbarous district not subject to any power in Arabia, but to Persis. If when sailing by this coast you stand well out to sea so as to keep a direct course, then at about a distance from the island of Zenobios of 2,000 stadia you arrive at another island, called that of Sarapis, lying off shore, say, 120 stadia. It is about 200 stadia broad and 600 long, possessing three villages inhabited by a savage tribe of Ikhtyophagoi, who speak the Arabic language and whose clothing consists of a girdle made from the leaves of the cocoa-palm. The island produces in great plenty tortoise of excellent quality, and the merchants of Cana accordingly fit out little boats and cargo ships to trade with it.

34. If sailing onward you wind round with the adjacent coast to the north, then as you approach the entrance of the Persian Gulf you fall in with a group of islands which lie in a range along the coast for 2,000 stadia, and are called the islands of Calaeou. The inhabitants of the adjacent coast are cruel and treacherous, and see imperfectly in the daytime.<sup>21</sup>

35. Near the last headland of the islands of Calaeou is the mountain called Calon (Pulcher), to which succeeds, at no great distance, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where there are very many pearl fisheries. On the left of the entrance, towering to a vast height, are the mountains which bear the name of Assaboi, and directly opposite on the right you see another mountain high and round called the hill of Semiramis. The strait which separates them has a width of 600 stadia and through this opening the Persian Gulf pours its vast expanse of waters far up into the interior. At the very head of this gulf there is a regular mart of commerce, called the city of Apologus, situated near Pasinou-Kharax and the river Euphrates.

36. If you coast along the mouth of the gulf you are conducted by a six days' voyage to another seat of trade belonging to Persis, called Omana. Barygaza maintains a regular commercial intercourse with both these Persian ports despatching thither large vessels freighted with copper, sandalwood, beams for rafters, horn and logs of sasamina and ebony. Omana imports also frankincense from Cana, while it exports to Arabia a particular species of vessels called *madara*, which have their planks sewn together. But both from Apologus and Omana there are exported to Barygaza and to Arabia great quantities of pearl, of mean quality however compared with the Indian sort, together with purple,

cloth for the natives, wine, dates in great quantity, and gold and slaves.

37. After leaving the district of Omana the country of the Parsidae succeeds, which belongs to another government, and the bay which bears the name of Terabdoi,<sup>22</sup> from the midst of which a cape projects. Here also is a river large enough to permit the entrance of ships, with a small mart at its mouth called Oraea. Behind it in the interior, at the distance of a seven days' journey from the coast, is the city where the king resides, called Rhambacia. This district, in addition to corn, produces wine, rice, and dates, though in the tract near the sea, only the fragrant gum called bdellium.

38. After this region, where the coast is already deeply indented by gulfs caused by the land advancing with a vast curve from the east, succeeds the seaboard of Scythia, a region which extends to northward. It is very low and flat, and contains the mouths of the Sinthus (Indus) the largest of all the rivers which fall into the Erythraean Sea, and which, indeed, pours into it such a vast body of water that while you are yet far off from the land at its mouth you find the sea turned of a white colour by its waters.

The sign by which voyagers before sighting land know that it is near is their meeting with serpents floating on the water, but higher up and on the coasts of Persia the first sign of land is seeing them of a different kind, called graai (Sanskrit *graha*—an alligator). The river has seven mouths, all shallow, marshy and unfit for navigation except only the middle stream, on which is Barbaricum, a trading seaport. Before this town lies a small islet, and behind it in the interior is Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, which is governed, however, by Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other.

39. Ships accordingly anchor near Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are conveyed by the river up to the king, who resides in the metropolis. The articles imported into this emporium are:—clothing, plain and in considerable quantity, clothing, mixed,<sup>23</sup> not much; flowered cottons,<sup>24</sup> yellow stone, topazes, coral, Storax, frankincense, glass vessels, silver plate, specie, wine, but not much. The exports are:—Costus, a spice, bdellium, a gum; (a yellow dye, spikenard, emeralds or green stones, Sapphires), furs from China, cottons, silk thread, indigo.

Ships destined for this port put out to sea when the Indian

monsoon prevails, that is, about the month of July or Epiphi. The voyage at this season is attended with danger, but being shorter is more expeditious.

40. After the river Sinthus is passed we reach another gulf, which cannot be easily seen. It has two divisions, the Great and the Little by name—both shoal with violent and continuous eddies<sup>25</sup> extending far out from the shore, so that before ever land is in sight ships are often grounded on the shoals or being caught within the eddies are lost. Over this gulf hangs a promontory which, curving from Eirion first to the east, then to the south and finally to the west, encompasses the gulf called Baraca, in the bosom of which lie seven islands. Should a vessel approach the entrance of this gulf, the only chance of escape for those on board is at once to alter their course and stand out to sea, for it is all over with them if they are once fairly within the womb of Baraca, which surges with vast and mighty billows, and where the sea, tossing in violent commotion, forms eddies and impetuous whirlpools in every direction. The bottom varies, presenting in places sudden shoals, in others being scabrous with jagged rocks, so that when an anchor grounds its cable is either at once cut through or soon broken by friction at the bottom. The sign by which voyagers know they are approaching this bay is their seeing serpents floating about on the water of extraordinary size and of a black colour, for those met with lower down and in the neighbourhood of Barygaza are of less size, and in colour green and golden.

41. To the gulf of Baraca succeeds that of Barygaza and the mainland of Ariaca, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mombarus<sup>26</sup> and of all India. The interior part of it which borders on Scythia is called Abiria,<sup>26a</sup> and its sea-board Syrastrène. It is a region which produces abundantly corn and rice and the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle. The natives are men of large stature and coloured black. The metropolis of the district is Minnagar, from which cotton cloth is exported in great quantity to Barygaza. In this part of the country, there are preserved even to this very day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells. The extent of this coast, reckoned from Barbaricum to the promontory called Papica, near Astacapra,<sup>27</sup> which is opposite Barygaza, is 3,000

stadia.

42. After Papica there is another gulf, exposed to the violence of the waves and running up to the north. Near its mouth is an island called Bacones, and at its very head it receives a vast river called the Mais. Those bound for Barygaza sail up this gulf (which has a breadth of about 300 stadia), leaving the island on the left till it is scarcely visible in the horizon, when they shape their course east for the mouth of the river that leads to Barygaza. This is called the Namadus.

43. The passage into the gulf of Barygaza is narrow and difficult of access to those approaching it from the sea, for they are carried either to the right or to the left, the left being the better passage of the two. On the right, at the very entrance of the gulf, lies a narrow strip of shoal, rough and beset with rocks. It is called Herone, and lies opposite the village of Cammoni. On the left side right against this is the promontory of Papica, which lies in front of Astacapra, where it is difficult to anchor, from the strength of the current and because the cables are cut through by the sharp rocks at the bottom. But even if the passage into the gulf is secured, the mouth of the Barygaza river is not easy to hit, since the coast is low and there are no certain marks to be seen until you are close upon them. Neither, if it is discovered, is it easy to enter, from the presence of shoals at the mouth of the river.

44. For this reason native fishermen appointed by Government are stationed with well-manned long boats called *trappaga* and *cotymba* at the entrance of the river, whence they go out as far as Syrastrène to meet ships and pilot them up to Barygaza. At the head of the gulf the pilot, immediately on taking charge of a ship, with the help of his own boat's crew, shifts her head to keep her clear of the shoals, and tows her from one fixed station to another moving with the beginning of the tide, and dropping anchor at certain roadsteads and basins when it ebbs. These basins occur at points where the river is deeper than usual, all the way up to Barygaza, which is 300 stadia distant from the mouth of the river if you sail up the stream to reach it.

45. India has everywhere a great abundance of rivers, and her seas ebb and flow with tides of extraordinary strength, which increase with the moon both when new and when full, and for three days after each, but fall off in the intermediate space. About Barygaza they are more violent than elsewhere; so that all of a

sudden you see the depths laid bare, and portions of the land turned into sea, and the sea, where ships were sailing but just before, turned without warning into dry land. The rivers, again, on the access of flood tide rushing into their channels with the whole body of the sea, are driven upwards against their natural course for a great number of miles with a force that is irresistible.

46. This is the reason why ships frequenting this emporium are exposed, both in coming and going, to great risk, if handled by those who are unacquainted with the navigation of the gulf or visit it for the first time, since the impetuosity of the tide when it becomes full, having nothing to stem or slacken it, is such that anchors cannot hold against it. Large vessels, moreover, if caught in it are driven athwart from their course by the rapidity of the current till they are stranded on shoals and wrecked, while the smaller craft are capsized, and many that have taken refuge in the side channels, being left dry by the receding tide, turn over on one side and if not set erect on props are filled upon the return of the tide with the very first head of the flood, and sunk. But at new moons, especially when they occur in conjunction with a night tide, the flood sets in with such extraordinary violence that on its beginning to advance, even though the sea be calm, its roar is heard by those living near the river's mouth, sounding like the tumult of battle heard far off, and soon after the sea with its hissing waves bursts over the bare shoals.

47. Inland from Barygaza the country is inhabited by numerous races—the Aratrioi, and the Arachosioi, and the Gandaraei,<sup>28</sup> and the people of Proclais,<sup>29</sup> in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Beyond these are the Bactrianoi, a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereign. It was from these parts Alexander issued to invade India when he marched as far as the Ganges without, however, attacking Limyrike and the southern parts of the country. Hence up to the present day old *drachmai* bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander are current in Barygaza.

48. In the same region eastward is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital wherein the king resided. From it there is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for the supply of the country and for export to our own markets—onyx-stones, porcelain,<sup>30</sup> fine muslins, mallow-coloured muslins, and no small quantity of ordinary cottons. At the same time there is brought down to it from the upper country by way of Proclais, for trans-

mission to the coast, Kattybourine, Patropapigic, and Cabalitic<sup>31</sup> spikenard, and another kind which reaches it by way of the adjacent province of Scythia; also costus and bdellium.

49. The imports of Barygaza are—Wine, principally Italian. Laodicean wine and Arabian, brass or copper and tin and lead, coral and Gold stone or Yellow stone;<sup>32</sup> cloth, plain and mixed, of all sorts; variegated sashes half a yard wide, storax, sweet clover, (melilot, white glass. Gum Sandarach. (Stibium) Tincture for the eyes);<sup>33</sup> gold and silver specie, yielding a profit when exchanged for native money; perfumes or unguents, neither costly nor in great quantity. In those times, moreover, there were imported, as presents to the king, costly silver vases, instruments of music,<sup>34</sup> handsome young women for concubinage, superior wine, apparel, plain but costly, and the choicest unguents. The exports from this part of the country are—

Spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyx-stones<sup>35</sup> and porcelain,<sup>36</sup> box-thorn,<sup>37</sup> cottons of all sorts, silk, mallow coloured cottons, silk thread, long pepper and other articles supplied from the neighbouring ports. The proper season to set sail for Barygaza from Egypt is the month of July or Epiphi.

50. From Barygaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south and the country is therefore called Dakhinabades, because *Dakhan* in the language of the natives signifies south. Of this country that part which lies inland towards the east comprises a great space of desert country, and large mountains abounding with all kinds of wild animals, leopards, tigers, elephants, huge snakes, hyenas, and baboons of many different sorts, and is inhabited right across to the Ganges by many and extremely populous nations.

51. Among the marts in this South Country there are two of more particular importance—Paethana, which lies south from Barygaza, a distance of twenty days, and Tagara, ten days east of Paethana, the greatest city<sup>38</sup> in the country. Their commodities are carried down on wagons to Barygaza along roads of extreme difficulty,—that is, from Paithana a great quantity of onyx-stone and from Tagara ordinary cottons in abundance, many sorts of muslins, mallow coloured cottons, and other articles of local production brought into it from the parts along the coast. The length of the entire voyage as far as Limyrike is 700 stadia, and to reach Aigialus<sup>39</sup> you must sail very many stadia further.

52. The local marts which occur in order along the coast

after Barygaza are Akabaru,<sup>40</sup> Suppara, Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganus, but after Sandanes<sup>41</sup> became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels even by accident enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barygaza.

53. After Kalliena other local marts occur—Semylla, Mandagora, Palaepatmae, Melizeigara, Byzantion, Toparon,<sup>42</sup> and Tyrannosboas.<sup>43</sup> You come next to the islands called Sesecreinae<sup>44</sup> and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaeneitae, near what is called the Chersonesus, places in which are pirates, and after this the island Leuke<sup>45</sup> (or the White'). Then follow Naura and Tyndis, the first marts of Limyrike, and after these Muziris and Nelcynda, the seats of Government.<sup>46</sup>

54. To the kingdom under the sway of Cebrotrās<sup>47</sup> Tyndis is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. Muziris, which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity,<sup>48</sup> frequented as it is by ships (from Ariake and Greek ships from Egypt).<sup>49</sup> It lies near a river at a distance from Tyndis of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nelcynda from Muziris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom, that of Pandion. It likewise is situated near a river and at about a distance from the sea of 120 stadia.

55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bacare to which the ships despatched from Nelcynda come down empty and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo: for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult<sup>50</sup>. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black colour, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the colour of blood.

56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel<sup>51</sup> of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally great quantities of specie; (topaz?), gold stone,<sup>52</sup> chrysolite,<sup>53</sup> a small assortment of plain cloth, flowered robes; Sibium,<sup>54</sup> a pigment for the eyes; coral, white glass, copper or

brass, tin, lead; wine, but not much, but about as much as at Barygaza; sandarach,<sup>55</sup> arsenic (orpiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic; and corn, only for the use of the ship company, as the merchants do not sell it.

The following commodities are brought to it for export : Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts, and called the pepper of Cottonara, pearls in great quantity and of superior quality, ivory, fine silks, spikenard from the Ganges, betel, all brought from countries further east, transparent or precious stones of all sorts, diamonds, jacinths,<sup>56</sup> tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Limyrikê. The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July, that is, Epiphi.

57. The whole round of the voyage from Cana and Eudæmon Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalus was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean. For, at the same time when our own Etesian winds are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian Sea, and this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalus after the name of the pilot who first discovered the passage by means of it. From the time of this discovery to the present day, merchants who sail for India either from Cana, or as others do, from Aromata, if Limyrike be their destination, (must often change their tack),<sup>57</sup> but if they are bound for Barygaza and Scythia, they are not retarded for more than three days,<sup>58</sup> after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance.

58. After Bacare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Colchoi.<sup>59</sup> In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Comar,<sup>60</sup> where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to conscreate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This



is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess (Kumari) once on a time resided at the place and bathed.

59. From Comari (towards the south) the country extends as far as Colchoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery. To Colchoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalu.<sup>61</sup> In this single place are obtained the pearls (collected near the island of Epiodoros).<sup>62</sup> From it are exported the muslins called ebargareitides.<sup>63</sup>

60. Among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which merchants from Limyrikê and the north resort, the most conspicuous are Camara, Poduca, and Sopatma, which occur in the order in which we have named them. In these marts are found those native vessels for coasting voyages which trade as far as Limyrikê, and another kind called *sangara*, large vessels formed by fastening together single logs; and also others, called *kolandiophonta*,<sup>64</sup> which are of great bulk and employed for voyages to Chryse and the Ganges. These marts import all the commodities which reach Limyrike for commercial purposes, absorbing likewise nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt, and most kinds of all the goods exported from Limyrike and (disposed of on this coast of India).<sup>65</sup>

61. Near the region which succeeds, where the course of the voyage now bends to the east, there lies out in the open sea stretching towards the west the island now called Palaesimundu, but by the ancients Taprobane. To cross over to the northern side of it takes a day. In the south part it gradually stretches towards the west till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania. It produces pearl, precious (transparent) stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell.

62. (Returning to the coast), not far from the three marts we have mentioned lies Masalia, the seaboard of a country extending far inland. Here immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured. From Masalia the course of the voyage lies eastward across a neighbouring bay to (Desarene, which has the breed of elephants called Bosare)<sup>66</sup>. Leaving Desarene, the course is northerly, passing a variety of barbarous tribes among which are the Cirrhadae, savages whose noses are flattened to the face, and another tribe, that of the Bargysoi, as well as the Hippioprosopoi or Makroprosopoi (the horse-faced or long-faced men), who are re-

ported to be cannibals.

63. After passing these the course turns again to the east and if you sail with the ocean to your right and the coast far to your left, you reach the Ganges and<sup>67</sup> the extremity of the continent towards the east called Chryse (the Golden Chersonese). The river of this region called the Ganges is the largest in India; it has an annual increase and decrease like the Nile, and there is on it a mart called after it, Gange, through which passes a considerable traffic consisting of betel, the Gangetic spikenard, pearl, and the finest of all muslins—those called the Gangetic. In this locality also there is said to be a gold mine and a gold coin called *Caltis*. Near<sup>68</sup> this river there is an island of the ocean called Chryse (or the Golden), which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythraean Sea.

64. Beyond this region, immediately under the north, where the sea terminates outwards, there lies somewhere in Thina a very great city,—not on the coast, but in the interior of the country, called Thina,<sup>69</sup>—from which silk, whether in the raw state or spun into thread and woven into cloth is brought by land to Barygaza through Bactria, or by the Ganges to Limyrike. To penetrate into Thina is not an easy undertaking, and but few merchants come from it, and that rarely. Its situation is under the Lesser Bear, and it is said to be conterminous with the remotest end of Pontus, and that part of the Caspian Sea which adjoins the Maeotic Lake, along with which it issues by one and the same mouth into the ocean.

65. On the confines, however, of Thinai an annual fair is held, attended by a race of men of squat figure, with their face very flat, but mild in disposition, called the Sesatai<sup>70</sup>, who (in appearance resemble wild animals)<sup>71</sup>. They come with their wives and children to this fair, bringing heavy loads of goods wrapped up in mats resembling in outward appearance the early leaves of the vine. Their place of assembly is where their own territory borders with that of Thinai; and here, squatted on the mats on which they exhibit their wares, they feast for several days, after which they return to their homes in the interior. On observing their retreat the people of Thinai, repairing to the spot, collect the mats on which they had been sitting, and taking out the fibres, which are called *petroi*, from the reeds, they put the

leaves two and two together and roll them up into slender balls, through which they pass the fibres extracted from the reeds. Three kinds of Malabathrum are thus made—that of the large ball, that of the middle, and that of the small, according to the size of the leaf of which the balls are formed. Hence there are three kinds of Malabathrum, which after being made up are forwarded to India by the manufacturers.

66. All the regions beyond this are unexplored, being difficult of access by reason of the extreme rigour of the climate and the severe frosts, perhaps because such is the will of the divine power.

#### FOOTNOTES

The letter S refers to the English Translation of the Text by W. H. Schoff, referred to in the Introduction.

<sup>1</sup> Mussel Harbour (S).

<sup>2</sup> Caves (S), also in para 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemais of the Hunts (S).

<sup>4</sup> No reference is made to elephants in S.

<sup>5</sup> Adulis (S).

<sup>6</sup> In paras 4, 21, 35, and 52, the phrase "regular and established" is replaced by "established by law" in S.

<sup>7</sup> Cyeneum (S).

<sup>8</sup> Tortoise-shell (S).

<sup>9</sup> Some scholars identify Zoscales with Za Hakale mentioned in the Abyssinian Chronicles and refer his reign to the period 76-89 A.D. But this is at best a very doubtful hypothesis, and cannot be relied on in fixing the date of the composition of the text. (For a full discussion, cf. S., Pp. 66-8).

<sup>10</sup> Steel (S).

<sup>11</sup> Rhinoceros-horn (S).

<sup>12</sup> i.e. from Egypt.

<sup>13</sup> "the so-called little Nile River and a fine spring" (S).

<sup>14</sup> Market and Cape of Spices (S).

<sup>15</sup> S. always substitutes "wheat" for "corn" used by McCrindle.

<sup>16</sup> "under separate chiefs for each place" (S).

<sup>17</sup> For the words in the bracket S. has "become first in Arabia".

<sup>18</sup> "palm-oil" (S).

<sup>19</sup> S. omits this.

<sup>20</sup> "A little wheat and wine" (S).

<sup>21</sup> "Cinnabar, that called Indian" (S).

<sup>22</sup> S. emends it to 'Damirica' and remarks: "The text has *Limyrike*, which previous editions have retained. That name does not appear in India, or in other Roman accounts of it, and it is clearly a corruption caused by the scribe's confusing the Greek D and L. The name appears in its correct form in the XIIth segment of the Peutinger Tables, almost contemporary with the Periplus, and in Ptolemy as *Dimirike*; and there seems no good reason for perpetuating the mistake. Damirica means the "country of the Tamils" (P. 205). The views of Schoff are now generally accepted.

<sup>23</sup> "very little civilized" (S).

<sup>24</sup> Bay of Gedrosia (S).

<sup>25</sup> "spurious" (S).

<sup>26</sup> "figured linens" (S).

<sup>27</sup> "shifting sandbanks" (S).

<sup>28</sup> S. emends it to Nambanus and identifies him with Nahapana, the Saka ruler in India, who flourished in the first century A.D. This seems to

be a reasonable hypothesis and serves as an important clue for the date of the anonymous author of the *Periplus*.

<sup>26a</sup> It represents Sanskrit 'Abhira'.

<sup>27</sup> "Astacampa" (S).

<sup>28</sup> "Arattii, Arachosii, the Gandarai" (S).

<sup>29</sup> "Poclais" (S).

<sup>30</sup> "Agate and Carnelian" (S).

<sup>31</sup> "that is, the Caspapyrene, and Paropanisene and Cabolitic" (S).

<sup>32</sup> "topaz" (S).

<sup>33</sup> For the words placed within bracket S has "flint-glass, realgar, antimony" (S).

<sup>34</sup> "Singing boys" (S).

<sup>35</sup> "agate" (S).

<sup>36</sup> "Carnelian" (S).

<sup>37</sup> "lycium" (S).

<sup>38</sup> "very great city" (S).

<sup>39</sup> "Coast Country" (S). This evidently refers to the Chola country (Coromandel Coast).

<sup>40</sup> S. does not mention this.

<sup>41</sup> S. emends it to 'Sandares' and identifies him with Sundara Satakarni, taking Saraganis as the Greek form of Satakarni. These hypotheses, if accepted, would supply valuable data for determining the date of the *Periplus*.

<sup>42</sup> "Togarum" (S).

<sup>43</sup> "Aurannoboas" (S).

<sup>44</sup> "Sescerienae" (S).

<sup>45</sup> "White Island" (S).

<sup>46</sup> "which are not of leading importance" (S).

<sup>47</sup> "Cerobothra" (S).

<sup>48</sup> S. omits this phrases.

<sup>49</sup> S. has "with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks" for the words placed within brackets.

<sup>50</sup> After this S. adds "The kings of both these market towns live in the interior".

<sup>51</sup> S. has "malabathrum" for betel both in this and para 56.

<sup>52</sup> Omitted by S.

<sup>53</sup> Omitted by S.

<sup>54</sup> "antimony" (S).

<sup>55</sup> "realgar" (S).

<sup>56</sup> "sapphires" (S).

<sup>57</sup> For the words placed within brackets S. has "throw the ship's head considerably off the wind", and discusses its meaning on pp. 230-32.

<sup>58</sup> S. has "keep along shore not more than three days".

<sup>59</sup> S. omits all the words after "Paralia" in this sentence, evidently because it is repeated later in the same para.

<sup>60</sup> "Comari" (S).

<sup>61</sup> "Argaru" (S).

<sup>62</sup> S. has "gathered on the coast thereabouts" for the words placed within brackets.

<sup>63</sup> "Argaritic" (S).

<sup>64</sup> "Colandia" (S).

<sup>65</sup> S. has "those that are carried through Paralia" for the words placed within brackets.

<sup>66</sup> S. has "Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic".

<sup>67</sup> S. adds "near it".

<sup>68</sup> "just opposite" (S).

<sup>69</sup> "This" (S).

<sup>70</sup> "Besatae" (S).

<sup>71</sup> S. has "are almost entirely uncivilized" for the words placed within brackets."

N.B. It should be distinctly understood that the brackets are used in the text only to facilitate comparison with the translation in S. and form no part of the text itself.

## LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES WITH IDENTIFICATIONS.

(The unit of distance, *stadia*, used in the *Periplus*, is approximately equivalent to one-tenth of an English mile).

Para.	Name.	Identification or modern name
1.	Myos Hormos (Mussel Harbour)	Situated in the bay of Ras abn Somer— $27^{\circ}12' \text{ N.}, 33^{\circ}55' \text{ E.}$
„	Bercnice	The remains of the town still exist— $23^{\circ}55' \text{ N.}, 35^{\circ}34' \text{ E.}$
2.	Meroe	The capital of the kingdom of Nubia. Modern Begerawiyeh on the Nile, $16^{\circ}55' \text{ N.}$
3.	Ptolemais Theron	Probably not far from Port Sudan—generally identified with Er-rih island.
„	Adulis	Massowa.
4.	Coloe	Kohaito.
„	Cyencion	Sennaar in Eastern Sudan.
5.	Auxumitai	Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia, which is still the place where the king's coronation takes place.
„	Alalaion	Dahalak, at the entrance of the Annesley Bay.
6.	Arsinoe	Suez.
„	Ariaca	The region round the Gulf of Cambay.
7.	Avalites.	Zeila, $11^{\circ}20' \text{ N.}, 43^{\circ}28' \text{ E.}$
8.	Malao	Berbera, the capital of British Somaliland.
12.	Cape of Spices (Aromata)	Cape Guardafui.
15.	Bluffs of Azania	The rugged coast known as El Hazin ending at Ras el Kyl.
19.	Leuke Kome	Probably El Haura, $25^{\circ}7' \text{ N.}, 37^{\circ}13' \text{ E.}$
„	Petra	It lay in the great valley, called Wady Musa— $30^{\circ}19' \text{ N.}, 35^{\circ}31' \text{ E.}$
21.	Muza	Mocha— $13^{\circ}19' \text{ N.}, 43^{\circ}20' \text{ E.}$
25.	The Island of Diodorus	Perim.
26.	Eudaemon Arabia	Aden.
27.	Cana	Probably Hisn Chorab— $14^{\circ}10' \text{ N.}, 48^{\circ}20' \text{ E.}$
30.	Syagrus	Ras Fartak.
„	Dioscorida	Socotra.
32.	Bay of Omana	Kamar Bay.
„	Moscha	Khor Reiri— $17^{\circ}2' \text{ N.}, 54^{\circ}26' \text{ E.}$
33.	Seven Zenobian Islands	Kuria Maria.
„	Sarapis	Masira Island.
34.	Calaeon Islands	Daimaniyat Islands, north-west of Muscat.
36.	Ommana	Oman.
37.	Parasidae	Persia proper, including Carmania.
„	Oraca	Sonmiani Bay.
38.	Sinthus	The Sindhu or Indus river.
„	Barbaricum and Minnagara	were in the delta of the Indus, but exact location is not possible.
40.	Gulf of Eirion	Rann of Cutch.
„	Gulf of Baraca	Gulf of Cutch.
41.	Barygaza (Sanskrit Bhri-gukachchha, Prakrit Bharu-kachchha)	Broach.
„	Surastrene	Surashtra—Kathiawar Peninsula.
42.	River Mais	Mahi river.
„	Nammadus	Narmada.
47.	Gandaraecoi	Gandhara.
„	Arachosioi	Kandahar.
„	Proclais	Pushkalavati (Charsada).

Para.	Name.	Identification or modern name.
48.	Ozene	Ujjain.
"	Caspapyra	Generally taken to be Kashmir, but without sufficient grounds.
"	Paropanisus	Hindu Kush.
"	Caboltic	Kabul.
50.	Dakhinabades	Dakshinapatha—Deccan.
51.	Paethana	Paithan.
"	Tagara	Ter—18°19'N., 76°9'E.
52.	Suppara	Sopara, north of Bombay.
"	Calliena	Kalyan.
53.	Semylla	Chaul, about 25 miles south of Bombay.
"	Mandagora	Probably Bankot.
"	Palaepatmae	Probably Dabhol.
"	Melizigara	Jaigarh or Rajapur.
"	Byzantium	Probably Vizadrog, or Vijayadurga.
"	Togarum	Probably Devgarh.
"	Tyrannoboas or Auranno-boas	Probably Malvan.
"	Sesecreienae	Probably Vengurla.
"	Aegidioi	Anjidiv or Goa.
"	Chersonesus	Probably Karwar.
"	Leuke (White) Island	Probably Pigeon Island.
"	Naura	Probably Cannanore.
"	Tyndis (Tondi)	Probably Ponnani.
"	Muziris (Muchiripattanam)	Cranganore.
"	Nelcynda (Nilakantha)	Near Kottayam.
54.	Cerobotra (Keralaputra)	Kerala.
"	Pandion (Pandya)	Region round Madura.
55.	Bacare	Porakad.
58.	Paralia	Probably Purali, an ancient local name for Travancore.
"	Balita	Varkallai.
"	Comari	Cape Comorin.
59.	Colchoi	Kolkai.
"	Argaru	Uraiyur, the ancient capital of the Chola country.
60.	Camara	Kaveripattanam.
"	Poduca	Pondicherry.
"	Sopatma	Markanam.
61.	Palaesimundu	Ceylon.
62.	Masalia	Masulipatam.
"	Desarene	Probably Orissa or a part of it.
"	Cirrhadae	Kirata (both a tribe and a country).
63.	Chryse	Malay Peninsula.
64.	Thina	China

N.B. These identifications are based principally on the following works :

1. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Translated by McCrindle.
2. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Translated by W. H. Schoff.
3. H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*.
4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*.

## VII. The Voyage of Nearchus in the Erythraean Sea.

It is stated by Arrian that Alexander, before leaving India, sent Nearchus with a fleet to explore the Erythraean Sea, and he adds that he will write a separate work describing, on the authority of Nearchus himself, how he sailed from the river Indus to the Persian Sea (above, pp. 82, 92). This promise Arrian fulfilled by narrating the voyage of Nearchus in Part II of his *Indica*, of which the first part has been translated above (pp. 214 ff). Arrian's narrative, comprising Chapters XVIII to XLIII of his *Indica*, was practically copied from the journal of the voyage written by Nearchus himself, which unfortunately is no longer extant. The following English translation of this, the second part of Arrian's *Indica*, was made by Mr Crindle<sup>1</sup> and included in the same volume in which he translated the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; for, as he aptly observed, the account of Nearchus forms an admirable supplement to the *Periplus*. Chapters XVIII and XIX are omitted in the following extract as they deal only with some technical details.

As far back as 1797, Dr. William Vincent wrote an account of the voyage of Nearchus "collected from the original journal preserved by Arrian", illustrated by two maps.<sup>2</sup>

As will be seen from the following extract, the account of Nearchus contains many things which appear quite incredible. Writers, both ancient and modern, have therefore been reluctant to attach much historical value to this work. It "has been condemned as spurious by Dodwell, and impeached in point of veracity by Hardouin and Huet." Among ancient writers Strabo has joined Nearchus "with Daimachus, Megasthenes and Onesicritus as a retailer of fables", and Pliny even went so far as to deny the existence of Nearchus's journal. A number of modern scholars have refuted these allegations.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Vincent belongs to this group as the following remarks will show :

"The narrative of this voyage has been preserved to us by Arrian, who professes to give an extract from the journal of Nearchus; and notwithstanding its authenticity has been disputed (which is a question that will be fully discussed hereafter), we may venture to assert, that it presents to an unprejudiced mind every internal evidence of fidelity and truth".<sup>4</sup> He further observes that Strabo "is indebted to Nearchus for many facts which, however extraordinary they might appear in his age, have been confirmed by modern observation."<sup>5</sup> Regarding the value and importance of this work Dr. Vincent observes :

"The voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates is the first event of general importance to mankind, in the history of navigation;..... and the consequences of this voyage were such, that as, in the first instance, it opened a communication between Europe and the most distant countries of Asia, so, at a later period, was it the source and origin of the Portuguese discoveries, the foundation of the greatest commercial system ever introduced into the world; and consequently the primary cause, however remote, of the British establishments in India."<sup>6</sup>

XX. Nearchus himself has supplied a narrative of this voyage, which runs to this effect. Alexander, he informs us, had set his heart on navigating the whole circuit of the sea which extends from India to Persia, but the length of the voyage made him hesitate, and the possibility of the destruction of his fleet, should it be cast on some desert coast either quite harbourless or too barren to furnish adequate supplies; in which case a great stain tarnishing the splendour of his former actions would obliterate all his good fortune. His ambition, however, to be al-

ways doing something new and astonishing prevailed over all his scruples. Then arose a difficulty as to what commander he should choose, having genius sufficient for working out his plans, and a difficulty also with regard to the men on ship board how he could overcome their fear, that in being despatched on such a service they were recklessly sent into open peril. Nearchus here tells us that Alexander consulted him on the choice of a commander, and that when the king had mentioned one man after another, rejecting all, some because they were not inclined to expose themselves for his sake to danger, others because they were of a timid temper, others because their only thought was how to get home, making this and that objection to each in turn, Nearchus then proffered his own services in these terms: "I then, O king, engage to command the expedition, and, under the divine protection, will conduct the fleet and the people on board safe into Persia, if the sea be that way navigable, and the undertaking within the power of man to perform". Alexander made a pretence of refusing the offer, saying that he could not think of exposing any friend of his to the distresses and hazard of such a voyage, but Nearchus, so far from withdrawing his proposal, only persisted the more in pressing its acceptance upon him. Alexander, it need not be said, warmly appreciated the promptitude to serve him shown by Nearchus, and appointed him to be commander-in-chief of the expedition. When this became known, it had a great effect in calming the minds of the troops ordered on this service and on the minds of the sailors, since they felt assured that Alexander would never have sent forth Nearchus into palpable danger unless their lives were to be preserved. At the same time the splendour with which the ships were equipped, and the enthusiasm of the officers vying with each other who should collect the best men, and have his complement most effective, inspired even those who had long hung back with nerve for the work, and a good hope that success would crown the undertaking. It added to the cheerfulness pervading the army that Alexander himself sailed out from both the mouths of the Indus into the open main when he sacrificed victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented gifts of great magnificence to the sea; and so the men trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had hitherto attended all the projects of Alexander, believed there was nothing he might not dare—nothing but would to him be feasible.

XXI. When the Etesian winds, which continue all the hot



season blowing landward from the sea, making navigation on that coast impracticable, had subsided, then the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Kephisidoros was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Boedromion according to the Athenian Calendar, but as the Macedonians and Asiatics reckon\*\*, in the 1th year of the reign of Alexander. Nearchus, before putting to sea sacrifices to Zeus the Preserver, and celebrates, as Alexander had done, gymnastic games. Then clearing out of harbour they end the first day's voyage by anchoring in the Indus at a creek called Stoura, where they remain for two days. The distance of this place from the station they had just left was 100 stadia. On the third day they resumed the voyage, but proceeded no further than 20 stadia, coming to an anchor at another creek, where the water was now salt, for the sea when filled with the tide ran up the creek, and its waters even when the tide receded commingled with the river. The name of this place was Kaumana. The next day's course, which was of 20 stadia only, brought them to Koreaitis, where they once more anchored in the river. When again under weigh their progress was soon interrupted, for a bar was visible which there obstructed the mouth of the Indus; and the waves were heard breaking with furious roar upon its strand which was wild and rugged. Observing, however, that the bar at a particular part was soft, they made a cutting through this, 5 stadia long, at low water, and on the return of the flood tide carried the ships through by the passage thus formed into the open sea. Then following the winding of the coast they ran a course of 120 stadia, and reach Krokala, a sandy island where they anchored and remained all next day. The country adjoining was inhabited by an Indian race called the Arabies, whom I have mentioned in my longer work, where it is stated that they derive their name from the River Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea, and parts them from the Oreitai. Weighing from Krokala they had on their right hand a mountain which the natives called Eiros, and on their left a flat island almost level with the sea, and so near the mainland to which it runs parallel that the intervening channel is extremely narrow. Having quite cleared this passage they come to anchor in a well sheltered harbour, which Nearchus, finding large and commodious, designated Alexander's Haven. This harbour is protected by an island lying about 2 stadia off from its entrance. It is called Bibakta, and all the country round about Sangada. The existence of the harbour is due altogether to the

island which opposes a barrier to the violence of the sea. Here heavy gales blew from seaward for many days without intermission, and Nearchus fearing lest the barbarians might, some of them, combine to attack and plunder the camp, fortified his position with an enclosure of stones. Here they were obliged to remain for 24 days. The soldiers we learn from Nearchus caught mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor fish, these being all of an extraordinary size as compared with the sorts found in our own sea. He adds that they had no water to drink but what was brackish.

XXII. As soon as the monsoon ceased they put again to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia came to anchor at a sandy beach under shelter of a desert island that lay near, called Domai. On the shore itself there was no water, but 20 stadia inland it was procured of good quality. The following day they proceeded 300 stadia to Saranga, where they did not arrive till night. They anchored close to the shore, and found water at a distance of about 8 stadia from it. Weighing from Saranga they reach Sakala, a desert place, and anchored. On leaving it they passed two rocks so close to each other that the oar-blades of the galleys grazed both, and after a course of 300 stadia they came to anchor at Morontobara. The harbour here was deep and capacious, and well sheltered all round, and its waters quite tranquil, but the entrance into it was narrow. In the native language it was called Women's Haven, because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. They thought it a great achievement to have passed those two rocks in safety, for when they were passing them the sea was boisterous and running high. They did not remain in Morontobara, but sailed the day after their arrival, when they had on their left hand an island which sheltered them from the sea, and which lay so near to the mainland that the intervening channel looked as if it had been artificially formed. Its length from one end to the other was 70 stadia. The shore was woody and the island throughout overgrown with trees of every description. They were not able to get fairly through this passage till towards daybreak, for the sea was not only rough, but also shoal, the tide being at ebb. They sailed on continuously, and after a course of 120 stadia anchored at the mouth of the river Arabis, where there was a spacious and very fine haven. The water here was not fit for drinking for the sea ran up the mouths of the Arabis. Having gone, however, about 40 stadia up the river, they found a pool from which, having drawn water, they returned

to the fleet. Near the harbour is an island high and bare, but the sea around it supplied oysters and fish of various kinds. As far as this, the country was possessed by the Arabies, the last Indian people living in this direction; and the parts beyond were occupied by the Oreitai.

XXIII. On weighing from the mouths of the Arabis, they coasted the shores of the Oreitai, and after running 200 stadia reached Pagala, where there was a surf but nevertheless good anchorage. The crew were obliged to remain on board, a party, however, being sent on shore to procure water. They sailed next morning at sunrise and after a course of about 430 stadia, reached Kabana in the evening, where they anchored at some distance from the shore, which was a desert; the violence of the surf by which the vessels were much tossed preventing them from landing. While running the last course the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale blowing from seaward, when two galleys and a transport foundered. All the men, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were sailing close to the shore. They weighed from Kabana about midnight, and having proceeded 200 stadia arrived at Kokala, where the vessels could not be drawn ashore, but rode at anchor out at sea. As the men, however, had suffered severely by confinement on board, and were very much in want of rest, Nearchus allowed them to go on shore, where he formed a camp, fortifying it in the usual manner for protection against the barbarians. In this part of the country Leonnatus, who had been commissioned by Alexander to reduce the Oreitai and settle their affairs, defeated that people and their allies in a great battle, wherein all the leaders and 6,000 men were slain, the loss of Leonnatus being only 15 of his horse, besides a few foot soldiers, and one man of note, Appollophanes, the satrap of the Gedrosians. A full account, however, of these transactions is given in my other work, where it is stated that for this service Leonnatos had a golden crown placed upon his head by Alexander in presence of the Macedonian army. Agreeably to orders given by Alexander, corn had been here collected for the victualling of the vessels, and stores sufficient to last for 10 days were put on board. Here also such ships as had been damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the mariners that Nearchus considered deficient in fortitude for the enterprise, he consigned to Leonnatos to be taken on by land, but at the same time he made good his comple-

ment of men by taking in exchange others more efficient from the troops under Leonnatos.

XXIV. From this place they bore away with a fresh breeze, and having made good a course of 500 stadia anchored near a winter torrent called the Tomeros, which at its mouth expanded into an estuary. The natives lived on the marshy ground near the shore in cabins close and suffocating. Great was their astonishment when they descried the fleet approaching, but they were not without courage, and collecting in arms on the shore, drew up in line to attack the strangers when landing. They carried thick spears about 6 cubits long, not headed with iron, but what was as good, hardened at the point by fire. Their number was about 600, and when Nearchus saw that they stood their ground prepared to fight, he ordered his vessels to advance, and then to anchor just within bowshot of the shore for he had noticed that the thick spears of the barbarians were adapted only for close fight, and were by no means formidable as missiles. He then issued his directions: those men that were lightest equipped, and the most active and best at swimming were to swim to shore at a given signal: when any one had swum so far that he could stand in the water he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not advance against the barbarians until a file could be formed of three men deep: that done, they were to rush forward shouting the war-cry. The men selected for this service at once plunged into the sea, and swimming rapidly touched ground, still keeping due order, when forming in file, they rushed to the charge, shouting the war-cry, which was repeated from the ships, whence all the while arrows and missiles from engines were launched against the enemy. Then the barbarians terrified by the glittering arms and the rapidity of the landing, and wounded by the arrows and other missiles, against which they had no protection, being all but entirely naked, fled at once without making any attempt at resistance. Some perished in the ensuing flight, others were taken prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those they captured had shaggy hair, not only on their head but all over their body, their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, and were used, it would seem, instead of iron for dividing fish and splitting the softer kinds of wood. Things of a hard consistency they cut with sharp stones, for iron they had none. As clothing they wore the skins of wild beasts, and occasionally also the thick skins of the large sorts of fish.

XXV. After this action they draw the ships on shore and repair all that had been damaged. On the 6th day they weighed again, and after a course of 300 stadia reached a place called Malana, the last on the coast of the Oreitai. In the interior these people dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, but differ from them in their language and their customs. The length of the coast of the Arabies, measured from the place whence the expedition had sailed, was about 1,000 stadia, and the extent of the coast of the Oreitai 1,600 stadia. Nearchus mentions that as they sailed along the Indian coast (for the people beyond this are not Indians), their shadows did not fall in the usual direction, for when they stood out a good way to the southward, their shadows appeared to turn and fall southward. Those constellations, moreover, which they had been accustomed to see high in the heavens, were either not visible at all, or were seen just on the verge of the horizon while the Polar constellation which had formerly been always visible now set and soon afterwards rose again. In this Nearchus appears to me to assert nothing improbable, for at Syene in Egypt they show a well in which when the sun is at the Tropic, there is no shadow at noon. In Meroe also objects project no shadow at that particular time. Hence it is probable that shadow is subject to the same law in India which lies to the south, and more especially in the Indian ocean, which extends still further to the southward.

XXVI. Next to the Oreitai lies Gedrosia, an inland province through which Alexander led his army, but this with difficulty, for the region was so desolate that the troops in the whole course of the expedition never suffered such direful extremities as on this march. But all the particulars relating to this I have set down in my larger work (VI. 22-27). The seaboard below the Gedrosians is occupied by a people called the Ikththyophagi, and along this country the fleet now pursued its way. Weighing from Malana about the second watch they ran a course of 600 stadia, and reached Bagisra. Here they found a commodious harbour, and at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea a small town called Pasira, whence the people of the neighbourhood were called Pasi-rees. Weighing early next morning they had to double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells, and got only a small supply of bad water, they rode at anchor that day because a high surf prevented the vessels approaching the shore. They left this place next day, and

sailed till they reached Kolta after a course of 200 stadia. Weighing thence at daybreak they reached Kalama, after a course of 600 stadia, and there anchored. Near the beach was a village around which grew a few palm trees, the dates on which were still green. There was here an island called Karbine, distant from the shore about 100 stadia. The villagers by way of showing their hospitality brought presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus, who says that the mutton had a fishy taste like the flesh of sea birds for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next day they proceeded 200 stadia, and anchored off a shore near which lay a village called Kissa, 30 stadia inland. That coast was however called Karbis. There they found little boats such as might belong to miserably poor fishermen, but the men themselves they saw nothing of, for they had fled when they observed the ships dropping anchor. No corn was here procurable, but a few goats had been left, which were seized and put on board, for in the fleet provisions now ran short. On weighing they doubled a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, and then put into a well sheltered haven called Mosarna, where they anchored. Here the natives were fishermen, and here they obtained water.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus says, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydrakes, who undertook to conduct them as far as Karmania. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf, the voyage was more practicable and the names of the stations more familiar. Departing from Mosarna at night, they sailed 750 stadia, and reached the coast of Balomon. They touched next at Barna, which was 400 stadia distant. Here grew many palm trees, and here was a garden wherein were myrtles and flowers from which the men wove chaplets for their hair. They saw now for the first time cultivated trees, and met with natives in a condition above that of mere savages. Leaving this they followed the winding of the coast, and arrived at Dendrobosa, where they anchor in the open sea. They weighed from this about midnight, and after a course of about 400 stadia gained the haven of Kophas. The inhabitants were fishermen possessed of small and wretched boats, which they did not manage with oars fastened to a row-lock according to the Grecian manner, but with paddles which they thrust on this side, and on that into the water, like diggers using a spade. They found at this haven plenty of good water. Weighing about

the first watch they ran 800 stadia, and put into Kyiza, where was a desert shore with a high surf breaking upon it. They were accordingly obliged to let the ships ride at anchor and take their meal on board. Leaving this they ran a course of 500 stadia, and came to a small town built on an eminence not far from the shore. On turning his eyes in that direction Nearchus noticed that the land had some appearance of being cultivated, and there-upon addressing Arkhias (who was the son of Anaxidotos of Pella, and sailed in the Commander's galley, being a Macedonian of distinction) pointed out to him that they must take possession of the place, as the inhabitants would not willingly supply the army with food. It could not however be taken by assault, a tedious siege would be necessary, and they were already short of provisions. But the country was one that produced corn as the thick stubble which they saw covering the fields near the shore clearly proved. This proposal being approved of by all, he ordered Arkhias to make a feint of preparing the fleet, all but one ship to sail, while he himself, pretending to be left behind with that ship, approached the town as if merely to view it.

XXVIII. When he approached the walls the inhabitants came out to meet him, bringing a present of tunny fish broiled in pans (the first instance of cookery among the Ikhthyophagi, although these were the very last of them), accompanied with small cakes and dates. He accepted their offering with the proper acknowledgments, but said he wished to see their town, which he was accordingly allowed to enter. No sooner was he within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the portal by which they had entered, while he himself with two attendants and his interpreter mounting the wall hard by, made the preconcerted signal, on seeing which the troops under Arkhias were to perform the service assigned to them. The Macedonians, on seeing the signal, immediately ran their ships towards land, and without loss of time jumped into the sea. The barbarians, alarmed at these proceedings, flew to arms. Upon this Nearchus ordered his interpreter to proclaim that if they wished their city to be preserved from pillage they must supply his army with provisions. They replied that they had none, and proceeded to attack the wall, but were repulsed by the archers with Nearchus, who assailed them with arrows from the summit of the wall. Accordingly, when they saw that their city was taken, and on the point of being pillaged, they at once begged Nearchus to take whatever corn

they had, and to depart without destroying the place. Nearchus upon this orders Arkhias to possess himself of the gates and the ramparts adjoining and sends at the same time officers to see what stores were available, and whether these would be all honestly given up. The stores were produced, consisting of a kind of meal made from fish roasted, and a little wheat and barley, for the chief diet of these people was fish with bread added as a relish. The troops having appropriated these supplies returned to the fleet, which then hauled off to a cape in the neighbourhood called Bagia, which the natives regarded as sacred to the sun.

XXIX. They weighed from this cape about midnight, and having made good a course of 1,000 stadia, put into Talmena, where they found a harbour with good anchorage. They sailed thence to Kanasis, a deserted town 400 stadia distant, where they find a well ready dug and wild palm trees. These they cut down, using the tender heads to support life since provisions had again run scarce. They sailed all day and all night, suffering great distress from hunger, and then came to an anchor off a desolate coast. Nearchus fearing lest the men, if they landed, would in despair desert the fleet ordered the ships to be moved to a distance from shore. Weighing from this they ran a course of 850 stadia, and came to anchor at Kanate, a place with an open beach and some water courses. Weighing again, and making 800 stadia, they reach Taoi, where they drop anchor. The place contained some small and wretched villages, which were deserted by the inhabitants upon the approach of the fleet. Here the men found a little food and dates of the palm tree beside seven camels left by the villagers which were killed for food. Weighing thence about daybreak they ran a course of 300 stadia, and came to anchor at Dagasira, where the people were nomadic. Weighing again they sailed all night and all day without intermission, and having thus accomplished a course of 1,100 stadia, left behind them the nation of the Ikhtyophagi, on whose shores they had suffered such severe privations. They could not approach the beach on account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out at sea. In navigating the Ikhtyophagi coast the distance traversed was not much short of 10,000 stadia. The people, as their name imports, live upon fish. Few of them, however, are fishermen, and what fish they obtain they owe mostly to the tide at whose reflux they catch them with nets made for this purpose. These nets are generally about 2 stadia long, and are composed of the bark (or



fibres) of the palm, which they twine into cord in the same way as the fibres of flax are twined. When the sea recedes, hardly any fish are found among the dry sands, but they abound in the depressions of the surface where the water still remains. The fish are for the most part small, though some are caught of a considerable size, these being taken in the nets. The more delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they are taken out of the water. The large and coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when properly dried grind into a sort of meal from which they make bread. This meal is sometimes also used to bake cakes with. The cattle as well as their masters fare on dried fish for the country has no pastures and hardly even a blade of grass. In most parts crabs, oysters and mussels add to the means of subsistence. Natural salt is found in the country, \*\*\*\* from these they make oil. Certain of their communities inhabit deserts where not a tree grows, and where there are not even wild fruits. Fish is their sole means of subsistence. In some few places, however, they sow with grain some patches of land, and eat the produce as a viand of luxury along with the fish which forms the staple of their diet. The better class of the population in building their houses use, instead of wood, the bones of whales stranded on the coast, the broadest bones being employed in the framework of the doors. Poor people, and these are the great majority, construct their dwellings with the backbones of fish.

XXX. Whales of enormous size frequent the outer ocean, besides other fish larger than those found in the Mediterranean. Nearchus relates that when they were bearing away from Kyiza, the sea early in the morning was observed to be blown up into the air as if by the force of a whirlwind. The men greatly alarmed enquired of the pilots the nature and cause of this phenomenon, and were informed that it proceeded from the blowing of the whales as they sported in the sea. This report did not quiet their alarm, and through astonishment they let the oars drop from their hands. Nearchus, however, recalled them to duty, and encouraged them by his presence, ordering the prows of those vessels that were near him to be turned as in a sea fight towards the creatures as they approached, while the rowers were just then to shout as loud as they could the *alala* and swell the noise by dashing the water rapidly with the oars. The men thus encouraged, on seeing the preconcerted signal, advanced to action. Then, as they approached the monsters, they shouted the *alala* as loud as they could

bawl, sounded the trumpets, and dashed the water noisily with the oars. Thereupon the whales, which were seen ahead, plunged down terror-struck into the depths, and soon after rose astern, when they vigorously continued their blowing. The men by loud acclamations expressed their joy at this unexpected deliverance, the credit of which they gave to Nearchus, who had shown such admirable fortitude and judgment.

We learn further, that on many parts of the coast whales are occasionally stranded, being left in shallow water at ebb-tide, and thus prevented from escaping back to sea, and that they are sometimes also cast ashore by violent storms. Thus perishing their flesh rots away, and gradually drops off till the bones are left bare. These are used by the natives in the construction of their huts, the larger ribs making suitable bearing beams, and the smaller serving for rafters. The jaw bones make arches for the doorways, for whales are sometimes five and twenty orguia (fathoms) in length.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the Ikthyophagi coast, they were told about an island which was said to be about 100 stadia distant from the mainland, and uninhabited. Its name was Nosala, and it was according to the local tradition sacred to the sun. No one willingly visited this island, and if any one was carried to it unawares, he was never more seen. Nearchus states that a transport of his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the pilots accounted for their disappearance by saying that they must have landed on the island in ignorance of the danger which they would thereby incur. Nearchus, however, sent a gally of 30 oars to sail round the island, instructing the men not to land, but to approach as near as they could to the shore, and hail the men, shouting out the name of the captain or any other name they had not forgotten. No one answered to the call, and Nearchus says that he then sailed in person to the island, and compelled his company much against their will to go on shore. He too landed, and showed that the story about the island was nothing but an empty fable. Concerning this same island he heard also another story, which ran to this effect: it had been at one time the residence of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who visited the island, changing him thereafter into a fish, and casting him into the sea. The sun, however, being displeased with the Nereid, ordered her

to remove from the island. She agreed to do this, and seek a home elsewhere, but stipulated that she should be cured of her malady. To this condition the sun assented, and then the Nereid, taking pity upon the men whom she had transformed into fish, restored them to their human shape. These men were the progenitors of the Ikhthyophagi, the line of succession remaining unbroken down to the time of Alexander. Now, for my part I have no praise to bestow on Nearchus for expending so much time and ingenuity on the not very difficult task of proving the falsehood of these stories, for to take up antiquated fables merely with a view to prove their falsehood, I can only regard as a contemptible piece of folly.

XXXII. To the Ikhthyophagi succeed the Gadrosii, who occupy a most wretched tract of country full of sandy deserts in penetrating which Alexander and his army were reduced to the greatest extremities, of which an account is to be found in my other work. But this is an inland region, and therefore when the expedition left the Ikhthyophagi, its course lay along Karmania. Here, when they first drew towards shore, they could not effect a landing, but had to remain all night on board anchored in the deep, because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Thereafter the direction of their course changed, and they sailed no longer towards sunset, but turned the heads of the vessels more to the north west. Karmania is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country either of the Ikhthyophagi or the Oreitai. It is also more grassy, and better supplied with water. They anchor next at Badis, an inhabited place in Karmania, where grew cultivated trees of many different kinds, with the exception of the olive, and where also the soil favoured the growth of the vine and of corn. Weighing thence they ran 800 stadia, and came to an anchor off a barren coast, whence they descried a headland projecting far out into the sea, its nearest extremity being to appearance about a day's sail distant. Persons acquainted with those regions asserted that this cape belonged to Arabia, and was called Makets, whence cinnamon and other products were exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now anchored, and from the headland which they saw projecting into the sea right opposite, the gulf in my opinion (which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the Red Sea. When this headland was now in view Onesicritus, the chief pilot, proposed that they should

proceed to explore it, and by so shaping their course, escape the distressing passage up the gulf, but Nearchus opposed this proposal. Onesicritus, he said, must be wanting in ordinary judgment if he did not know with what design Alexander had sent the fleet on this voyage. He certainly had not sent it, because there were no proper means of conducting the whole army safely by land, but his express purpose was to obtain a knowledge of the coasts they might pass on their voyage, together with the harbours and islets, and to have the bays that might occur explored, and to ascertain whether there were towns, bordering on the ocean, and whether the countries were habitable or desert. They ought not therefore to lose sight of this object, seeing that they were now near the end of their toils and especially that they were no longer in want of the necessary supplies for prosecuting the voyage. He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the south, lest they should find the country there a parched desert destitute of water and insufferably hot. This argument prevailed, and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the expedition, for all accounts represent this cape and the parts adjacent as an arid waste where water cannot possibly be procured.

XXXIII. On resuming the voyage they sailed close to land and after making about 700 stadia anchored on another shore called Neoptana. From this they weighed next day at dawn, and after a course of 100 stadia anchored at the mouth of the river Anamis in a country called Harmozeia. Here at last they found a hospitable region,—one which was rich in every production except only the olive. Here accordingly they landed, and enjoyed a welcome respite from their many toils—heightening their pleasure by calling to remembrance what miseries they had suffered at sea and in the Ikhthyophagi country, where the shores were so sterile, and the natives so brute-like and where they had been reduced to the last extremities of want. Here, also, some of them in scattered parties, leaving the encampment on the shore, wandered inland searching for one thing and another that might supply their several requirements. While thus engaged they fell in with a man who wore a Greek mantle, and was otherwise attired as a Greek and spoke the Greek language. Those who first discovered him declared that tears started to their eyes, so strange did it appear, after all they had suffered, to see once more a countryman of their own, and to hear the accents of their native tongue. They asked him whence he came, and who he was.

He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army led by Alexander in person was not far off. On hearing this they hurry the man with shouts of tumultuous joy to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he repeated all that he had already said, assuring him that the army and the king were not more than a 5 days' march distant from the sea. The Governor of the province, he added, was on the spot, and he would present him to Nearchus and he presented him accordingly. Nearchus consulted this person regarding the route he should take in order to reach the king, and then they all went off, and made their way to the ships. Early next morning the ships by orders of Nearchus were drawn on shore, partly for repair of the damage which some of them had suffered on the voyage, and partly because he had resolved to leave here the greater part of his army. Having this in view, he fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with an earthen rampart and a deep ditch extending from the banks of the river to the dockyard where the ships were lying.

XXXIV. While Nearchus was thus occupied, the Governor being aware that Alexander was in great anxiety about the fate of this expedition, concluded that he would receive some great advantage from Alexander should he be the first to apprize him of the safety of the fleet and of the approaching visit of Nearchus. Accordingly he hastened to Alexander by the shortest route and announced that Nearchus was coming from the fleet to visit him. Alexander, though he could scarcely believe the report, nevertheless received the tidings with all the joy that might have been expected.

Day after day, however, passed without confirmation of the fact, till Alexander, on comparing the distance from the sea with the date on which the report had reached him, at last gave up all belief in its truth, the more especially as several of the parties which he had successively despatched to find Nearchus and escort him to the camp, had returned without him, after going a short distance, and meeting no one, while others who had prosecuted the search further, and failed to find Nearchus and his company were still absent. He therefore ordered the Governor into confinement for having brought delusive intelligence and rendered his vexation more acute by the disappointment of his hopes, and indeed his looks and perturbation of mind plainly indicated that he was pierced to the heart with a great grief. Meanwhile, how-

ever, one of the parties that had been despatched in search of Nearchus, and his escort being furnished with horses and wagons for their accommodation, fell in on the way with Nearchus and Arkhias, who were followed by five or six attendants. At first sight they recognized neither the admiral himself nor Arkhias, so much changed was their appearance, their hair long and neglected, their persons filthy, encrusted all over with brine and shrivelled, their complexion shallow from want of sleep and other severe privations. On their asking where Alexander was, they were told the name of the place. Arkhias, then perceiving who they were, said to Nearchus—"It strikes me, Nearchus, these men are traversing the desert by the route we pursue, for no other reason than because they have been sent to our relief. True, they did not know us, but that is not at all surprising, for our appearance is so wretched that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask then why they are travelling this way". Nearchus, thinking he spoke with reason, asked the men whither they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. "Well! I am Nearchus," said the admiral, "and this man here is Arkhias. Take us under your conduct, and we will report to Alexander the whole history of the expedition".

XXXV. They were accordingly accommodated in the wagons, and conducted to the camp. Some of the horsemen, however, wishing to be the first to impart the news, hastened forward, and told Alexander that Nearchus himself, and Arkhias with him, and five attendants, would soon arrive, but to enquiries about the rest of the people in the expedition they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that all the expedition had perished except this small band, which had been unaccountably saved, did not so much feel pleasure for the preservation of Nearchus and Arkhias as distress for the loss of his whole fleet. During this conversation Nearchus and Arkhias arrived. It was not without difficulty Alexander after a close scrutiny recognized who the hirsute, ill clad men who stood before him were, and being confirmed by their miserable appearance in his belief that the expedition had perished, he was still more overcome with grief. At length he held out his hand to Nearchus and leading him apart from his attendants and his guards he burst into tears, and wept for a long time. Having, after a good while, recovered some composure, "Nearchus"! he says, "since you and

Arkhias have been restored to me alive, I can bear more patiently the calamity of losing all my fleet; but tell me now, in what manner did the vessels and my people perish". "O my king!" replied Nearchus, "the ships are safe and the people also, and we are here to give you an account of their preservation". Tears now fell much faster from his eyes than before, but they were tears of joy for the salvation of his fleet which he had given up for lost. "And where are now my ships", he then enquired. "They are drawn up on shore", replied Nearchus, "on the beach of the river Anamis for repairs". Upon this Alexander, swearing by Zeus of the Greeks and Ammon of the Libyans, declared that he felt happier at receiving these tidings than in being the conqueror of all Asia, for, had the expedition been lost, the blow to his peace of mind would have been a counterpoise to all the success he had achieved.

XXXVI. But the Governor whom Alexander had put into confinement for bringing intelligence that appeared to be false, seeing Nearchus in the camp, sunk on his knees before him, and said: "I am the man who brought to Alexander the news of your safe arrival. You see how I am situated". Nearchus interceded with Alexander on his behalf, and he was then liberated. Alexander next proceeded to offer a solemn sacrifice in gratitude for the preservation of his fleet unto Zeus the Preserver, and Herakles, and Apollo the Averter of Destruction, and unto Poseidon, and every other deity of ocean. He celebrated likewise a contest in gymnastics and music, and exhibited a splendid procession wherein a foremost place was assigned to Nearchus. Chaplets were wreathed for his head, and flowers were showered upon him by the admiring multitude. At the end of these proceedings the king said to Nearchus, "I do not wish you, Nearchus, either to risk your life or expose yourself again to the hardships of sea-voyaging, and I shall therefore send some other officer to conduct the expedition onward to Susa". But Nearchus answered, and said: "It is my duty, O king! as it is also my desire in all things to obey you, but if your object is to gratify me in some way, do not take the command from me until I complete the voyage by bringing the ships in safety to Susa. I have been trusted to execute that part of the undertaking in which all its difficulty and danger lay; transfer not, then, to another the remaining part, which hardly requires an effort, and that, too, just at the time when the glory of final success is ready to be won". Alexander scarcely allowed him to conclude his request, which he granted with grateful ack-

nowledgment of his services. Then he sent him down again to the coast with only a small escort, believing that the country through which he would pass was friendly. He was not permitted however to pursue his way to the coast without opposition, for the barbarians, resenting the action of Alexander in deposing their satrap, had gathered in full force and seized all the strongholds of Karmania before Tlepolemos, the newly appointed Governor, had yet succeeded in fully establishing his authority. It happened therefore that several times in the course of a day Nearchus encountered bands of the insurgents with whom he had to do battle. He therefore hurried forward without lingering by the way, and reached the coast in safety, though not without severe toil and difficulty. On arriving he sacrificed to Zeus the Preserver, and celebrated gymnastic games.

XXXVII. These pious rites having been duly performed they again put to sea, and after passing a desolate and rocky island, arrived at another island, where they anchored. This was one of considerable size and inhabited, and 300 stadia distant from Harmozeia, the harbour which they had last left. The desert island was called Organa, and that where they anchored Oarakta. It produced vines, palm-trees, and corn. Its length is 800 stadia. Mazenes, the chief of this island, accompanied them all the way to Susa, having volunteered to act as pilot of the fleet. The natives of the island professed to point out the tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, whose name they said was Erythres, after whom the sea in that part of the world was called the Erythraean. Weighing thence their course lay along the island, and they anchored on its shores at a place whence another island was visible at a distance of about 40 stadia. They learned that it was sacred to Poseidon, and inaccessible. Next morning, as they were putting out to sea, the ebbtide caught them with such violence that three of the galleys were stranded on the beach, and the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the surf into deep water. The stranded vessels were however floated off at the return of the tide, and the day after rejoined the fleet. They anchored at another island distant from the mainland somewhere about 300 stadia, after running a course of 400 stadia. Towards daybreak they resumed the voyage, passing a desert island which lay on their left, called Pylora, and anchored at Sisidone, a small town which could supply nothing but water and fish. Here again the natives were fish-eaters, for the soil



was utterly sterile. Having taken water on board, they weighed again, and having run 300 stadia, anchored at Tarsia, the extremity of a cape which projects far into the sea. The next place of anchorage was Kataia, a desert island, and very flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The length of this course was 300 stadia. To this island sheep and goats are annually sent by the people of the adjoining continent who consecrate them to Hermes and Aphrodite. These animals were to be seen running about in a wild state, the effect of time and the barren soil.

XXXVIII. Karmania extends as far as this island, but the parts beyond appertain to Persia. The extent of the Karmanian coast was 3,700 stadia. The people of this province live like the Persians, on whom they border, and they have similar weapons and a similar military system. When the fleet left the sacred island its course lay along the coast of Persis, and it first drew to land at a place called Ila, where there is a harbour under cover of a small and desert island called Kaikander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards daybreak they came to another island which was inhabited, and anchored thereon. Nearchus notices that there is here a fishery for pearl as there is in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the shores of the promontory in which this island terminates, a distance of about 40 stadia, they came to an anchor upon its shores. The next anchorage was in the vicinity of a lofty hill called Okhos, where the harbour was well sheltered and the inhabitants were fishermen. Weighing thence they ran a course of 400 stadia, which brought them to Apostana, where they anchored. At this station they saw a great many boats, and learned that at a distance of 60 stadia from the shore there was a village. From Apostana they weighed at night and proceeded 400 stadia to a bay, on the borders of which many villages were to be seen. Here the fleet anchored under the projection of a cape which rose to a considerable height. Palm-trees and other fruit-bearing trees similar to those of Greece, adorned the country round. On weighing thence they sailed in a line with the coast, and after a course of somewhere about 600 stadia reached Gogana which was an inhabited place, where they anchored at the mouth of a winter torrent called the Areon. It was difficult to anchor, for the approach to the mouth of the river was by a narrow channel, since the ebbing of the tide had left shoals which lay all round in a circle. Weighing thence they gained after run-

ning as many as 800 stadia, the mouth of another river called the Sitakos, where also it was troublesome to anchor. Indeed all along the coast of Persis the fleet had to be navigated through shoals and breakers and oozy channels. At the Sitakos they took on board a large supply of provision, which under orders from the king had been collected expressly for the fleet. They remained at this station one and twenty days in all occupied in repairing and karcening the ships, which had been drawn on shore for the purpose.

XXXIX. Weighing thence they came to an inhabited district with a town called Hieratis, after accomplishing a distance of 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal which drew its waters from a river and emptied into the sea, and was called Heratemis. Weighing next morning about sunrise, and sailing by the shore they reached a winter torrent called the Padargos, where the whole place was a peninsula, wherein were many gardens and all kinds of trees that bear fruit. The name of the place was Mesambria. Weighing from Mesambria and running a course of about 200 stadia, they reach Taoke on the river Granis, and there anchor. Inland from this lay a royal city of the Persians, distant from the mouths of the river about 200 stadia. We learn from Nearchus that on their way to Taoke a stranded whale had been observed from the fleet and that a party of the men having rowed alongside of it, measured it and brought back word that it had a length of 50 cubits. Its skin, they added, was clad with scales to a depth of about a cubit, and thickly clustered over with parasitic mussels, barnacles, and seaweed. The monster, it was also noticed, was attended by a great number of dolphins, larger than are ever seen in the Mediterranean. Weighing from Taoke they proceeded to Rhogonis, a winter torrent, where they anchored in a safe harbour. The course thither was one of 200 stadia. Weighing thence and running 400 stadia, they arrived at another winter torrent, called Brizana, where they land and form an encampment. They had here difficulty in anchoring because of shoals and breakers and reefs that showed their heads above the sea. They could therefore enter the roads only when the tide was full; when it receded, the ships were left high and dry. They weighed with the next flood tide, and came to anchor at the mouth of a river called the Arosis, the greatest, according to Nearchus, of all the rivers that in the course of his voyage fell into the outer ocean.

XL. The Arosis marks the limit of the possessions of the Persians, and divides them from the Susians. Above the Susians occurs an independent race called the Uxians, whom I have described in my other work (*Anab.* VII. 15, 3) as robbers. The length of the Persian coast is 4,400 stadia. Persis, according to general report, has three different climates, for that part of it which lies along the Erythraean sea, is sandy and barren from the violence of the heat, while the part which succeeds enjoys a delightful temperature, for there the mountains stretch towards the pole and the North wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears in profusion the vine and every fruit else but the olive, while it blooms with gardens and pleasure parks of all kinds, and is permeated with crystal streams and abounds with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of every variety of water-fowl, and it is also a good country for horses and other yoke cattle, being rich in pasture, while it is throughout well-wooded and well-stocked with game. The part, however, which lies still further to the north is said to be bleak and cold, and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea, after a very brief journey, met Alexander marching forward to Persis, whereat Alexander being greatly surprised, they explained to him how very inconsiderable the distance was. I have already stated that the immediate neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians, just as the Mardians, a race of robbers, are next neighbours to the Persians, and the Kossaeans to the Medes. All these tribes Alexander subdued attacking them in the winter time when their country was, as they imagined, inaccessible. He then founded cities to reclaim them from their wandering life, and encouraged them to till their lands and devote themselves to agriculture. At the same time he appointed magistrates armed with the terrors of the law to prevent them having recourse to violence in the settlement of their quarrels. On weighing from the Arosis the expedition coasted the shores of the Susians. The remainder of the voyage, Nearchus says, he cannot describe with the same precision; he can but give the names of the stations and the length of the courses, for the coast was full of shoals and beset with breakers which spread far out to sea, and made the approach to land dangerous. The navigation thereafter was of course almost entirely restricted to the open sea. In mentioning their departure from the mouth of the river where they had encamped on the

borders of Persis, he states that they took there on board a five days' supply of water, as the pilots had brought to their notice that none could be procured on the way.

XLI. A course of 500 stadia having been accomplished, their next anchorage was in an estuary, which swarmed with fish, called Kataderbis, at the entrance of which lay an island called Margastana. They weighed at daybreak, the ships sailing out in single file through shoals. The direction of the shoal was indicated by stakes fixed both on the right and the left side, just as posts are erected as signals of danger in the passage between the island of Leukadia and Akarnania to prevent vessels grounding on the shoals. The shoals of Leukadia, however, are of firm sand, and it is thus easy to float off vessels should they happen to strand, but in this passage there is a deep mud on both sides of such tenacity that if vessels once touched the bottom, they could not by any appliances be got off; for, if they thrust poles into the mud to propel the vessels, these found no resistance or support, and the people who got overboard to ease them off into navigable water found no footing, but sunk in the mud higher than the waist. The fleet proceeded 600 stadia, having such difficulties of navigation to contend with, and then came to an anchor, each crew remaining in their own vessel, and taking their repast on board. From this anchorage they weighed in the night, sailing on in deep water till about the close of the ensuing day, when, after completing a course of 900 stadia, they dropped anchor at the mouth of the Euphrates near a town in Babylonia called Diridotis—the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant productions of Arabia. The distance from the mouth of the Euphrates up stream to Babylon is, according to Nearchus, 3,300 stadia.

XLII. Here intelligence having been received that Alexander was marching towards Susa, they retraced their course from Diridotis so as to join him by sailing up the Pasitigris. They had now Susis on their left hand, and were coasting the shores of a lake into which the Tigris empties itself, a river, which flowing from Armenia past Nineveh, a city of yore great and flourishing, encloses between itself and the Euphrates the tract of country which from its position between the two rivers is called Mesopotamia. It is a distance of 600 stadia from the entrance into the lake up to the river's mouth at Aginis, a village in the province of Susis, distant from the city of Susa 500 stadia. The length

of the voyage along the coast of the Susians to the mouth of the Pasitigris was 2,000 stadia. Weighing from the mouth of this river they sailed up its stream through a fertile and populous country, and having proceeded 150 stadia dropped anchor, awaiting the return of certain messengers whom Nearchus had sent off to ascertain where the king was. Nearchus then presented sacrifices to the gods their preservers, and celebrated games, and full of gladness were the hearts of all that had taken part in the expedition. The messengers having returned with tidings that Alexander was approaching, the fleet resumed its voyage up the river, and anchored near the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the preservation of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was decorated by them with garlands and pelted with flowers. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden diadems—Nearchus for the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Oreitai and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had begun its voyage from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythraean Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phoenicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythraean Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some chance navigator. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyzes, which escaped from Egypt, and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, to Seleucus Nikator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on swift camels carrying water, travelling only by night, the heat by day being so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond this region, which

we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythraean Sea from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had on board lasted them, and no further. The exploring party again which Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythraean Sea, with a view to examine the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states to have been seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Karmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by sea or by land, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, setting out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> M-III.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage of Nearchus*, by William Vincent, D.D. (London, 1797).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 56-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 1-2.

## VIII. Pliny

Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. A.D. 23-79), better known as the Elder Pliny, was a Roman scholar and the author of *Naturalis historia* (The *Natural History*) which consists of 37 books. It deals with geography, ethnography, anthropology, physiology, zoology, and various other subjects. He published the first ten books himself about A.D. 77, and the rest was published by his nephew after his death.

The extracts that follow are based on the English translations of McCrindle (M-V) and Bostock (*The Natural History of Pliny* translated by John Bostock and H. T. Riley, London, George Bell and Sons, 1890). There are also English translations in the Loeb Classical Library series.

## I. Voyages from and to India.

C. 17(19). He (M. Varro) adds that under the direction of Pompey it was ascertained that it was seven days' journey from India to the river Iachrus, which flows into the Oxus, and that people have been conveyed from the Oxus through the Caspian into the Cyrus, and that Indian merchandise can be brought by land to Phasis in Pontus in five days at most.<sup>1</sup>

Book II.c.67(67). The same Nepos, when speaking of the northern circumnavigation, relates that to Q. Metellus Celer, the colleague of Afranius in the consulship, but then a proconsul in Gaul, a present was given by the King of the Suevi consisting of some Indians who, sailing from India for the purpose of commerce, had been driven by storms into Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Book vi.c.23(26). The journal of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus has neither the names of the stations nor the distances set down in it;<sup>3</sup> and first of all it is not sufficiently explained where and near what river Xylenopolis was—a city founded by Alexander and that from which his expedition started when it left India. Still, the following places mentioned by them are worthy of notice—the town of Arbis, founded by Nearchus in the course of the voyage, and the river Arbis, which is navigable and opposite which lies an island at a distance of 70 stadia; Alexandria built by Leonnatus by Alexander's orders in the territories of the people; Argenuus with a convenient harbour; the river Tonberos, which is navigable, and around its banks the Pasirae; then come the Ichthyophagi. . . . In after times it was considered an undeniable fact that the voyage from Syagrus the promontory (a cape) in Arabia, to Patale reckoned at 1335 miles, can be performed by aid of a west wind which is there called Hippalus. The age that followed pointed out a shorter route that was also safer by making the voyage from the same cape to Sigerus,<sup>4</sup> a seaport of India; and for a long

time this route was followed until one still shorter was discovered by a merchant, and India was brought nearer us through the love of gain. So then at the present day voyages are made to India every year; and companies of archers are carried on board because the Indian seas are infested by pirates.

\* It will not be amiss too, on the present occasion, to set forth the whole of the route from Egypt, which has been stated to us of late, upon information on which reliance may be placed, and is here published for the first time. The subject is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain our empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces<sup>5</sup>, giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold among us at fully one hundred times their prime cost.

Two miles distant from Alexandria is the town of Juliopolis. The distance then to Coptos, up the Nile, is 308 miles; the voyage is performed, when the Etesian winds are blowing, in twelve days. From Coptos the journey is made with the aid of camels, stations being arranged at intervals for the supply of fresh water. The first of these stations is called Hydreuma (watering-place), and is distant 22 miles; the second is situated on a mountain, at a distance of one day's journey from the last; the third is at a second Hydreuma, distant from Coptos 95 miles; the fourth is on a mountain; the next to that is at another Hydreuma, that of Apollo, and is distant from Coptos 184 miles; after which, there is another on a mountain. There is then another station at a place called New Hydreuma, distant from Coptos 230 miles; and next to it there is another, called the old Hydreuma, or the Troglodytic, where a detachment is always on guard, with a caravansary that affords lodging for two thousand persons. This last is distant from New Hydreuma seven miles. After leaving it we come to the city of Berenice, situated upon a harbour of the Red Sea, and distant from Coptos 257 miles. The greater part of this distance is generally travelled by night, on account of the extreme heat, the day being spent at the stations; in consequence of which it takes twelve days to perform the whole journey from Coptos to Berenice.

Passengers generally set sail at midsummer, before the rising of the Dog-star, or else immediately after, and in about thirty days arrive at Ocelis in Arabia, or else at Cane, in the region which bears frankincense. There is also a third port of Arabia, Muza by name; it is not, however, used by persons on their passage to India, as only those touch at it who deal in incense and the perfumes of



Arabia. More in the interior there is a city; the residence of the king there is called Sapphar, and there is another city known by the name of Save. To those who are bound for India, Ocelis is the best place for embarkation.<sup>6\*</sup> If the wind called Hippalus be blowing, Muziris, the nearest mart of India, can be reached in forty days. It is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood who occupy a place called Nitrias, and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic. Ships besides anchor at a great distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be landed and shipped by employing boats. At the time I was writing this Caelobothras was the sovereign of that country. Another more convenient harbour of the nation is Neacyndon which is called Becare. There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country called Modura. The district from which pepper is carried down to Becare in canoes is called Cottonara. None of these names of nations, ports, and cities are to be found in any of the former writers—from which it appears that the names (stations) of the places are changed. Travellers sail back from India in the beginning of the Egyptian month Tybis—our December—or at all events before the 6th day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is before the Ides of January. In this way they can go and return the same year. They sail from India with a south-east wind, and on entering the Red Sea catch the south-west or south.

## II. Position, boundaries, physical characteristics and the races of India.

Book VI.c. 17(21.). Where the chain of Hemodus rises the communities are settled, and the nations of India, which begin there, adjoin not only the eastern sea but also the southern Ocean. That part which faces the east runs in a straight line to the bend where the Indian Ocean begins, and measures 1875 miles. Then from this bend to the south upto the river Indus, which forms the western boundary of India, the distance, as given by Eratosthenes, is 2475 miles. But many authors have represented the total length of its coast as being a sail of forty days and forty nights, and its length from north to south as being 2850 miles. Agrippa has estimated its length at 3300 miles, and its breadth at 2300. Poseidonios has measured it from north-east to south-east, placing it opposite to Gaul, which he was measuring from north-west to

south-west, making the whole of India lie to the west of Gaul. Hence he has shown by undoubted proofs that India being most refreshed by the blowing of the west wind, and have in consequence a salubrious climate. Here the appearance of the heavens is entirely changed, and the stars rise differently; there are two summers in the year, and two harvests having winter between them, while the Etesian winds are prevalent; and during our winter the breezes there are light and the seas navigable. In this country the nations and cities are numberless should one attempt to reckon them all up. It was opened up to our knowledge not only by the arms of Alexander the Great and the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus, as well as by their admiral Petrokles who sailed round even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas, but also by certain Greek authors, who resided with Indian kings, such as Megasthenes, and Dionysius who was sent by Philadelphus, and have thus informed us of the power and resources of the Indian nations. However, there is no room for a careful examination of their statements, they are so diverse and incredible. The companions of Alexander the Great have written that in that tract of India, which he subdued, there were 5000 towns, none less than Cos—that its nations were nine in number—that India was the third part of all the world, and that the multitude of its inhabitants was past reckoning. For this there was probably a good reason, since the Indians almost alone among the nations have never emigrated from their own borders. Their kings from Father Bacchus down to Alexander the Great are reckoned at 153 over a space of 6451 years and three months. The vast size of their rivers fills the mind with wonder. It is recorded that Alexander on no day sailed on the Indus less than 600 stadia, and was unable to reach its mouth in less than five months and a few days, and yet it appears that it is smaller than the Ganges. Seneca, who was our fellow citizen and composed a treatise on India, has given the number of its rivers at 60,<sup>7</sup> and that of the nations at 118. It would be as great a difficulty should we attempt to enumerate its mountains. The chains of Imavos, Hemodus, Paropanisus, and Caucasus are mutually connected, and from their base the whole country sinks down into a plain of immense extent and bears a great resemblance to Egypt. But that our account of the geography of these regions may be better understood, we shall tread in the steps of Alexander the Great, whose marches were measured by Diognetes and Baeton.

[After this are given distances from the Caspian Gates to the river Cophes and Peucolaitis, a city of India.]

VI. 21. 8-23. 11. From thence (i.e. Peucolaitis) to the river Indus and the city of Taxila, 60; from thence to the famous river Hydaspes, 120; from thence to the Hypasis, a river no less famous, 290 miles and 390 paces. This last was the extreme limit of the expedition of Alexander, though he crossed the river and dedicated certain altars on the opposite side. The dispatches written by order of that king fully agree with the distances above stated. The remaining distances beyond the above point were ascertained on the expedition of Seleucus Nikator:—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles. 119 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance.) To the town Kalinipaxa 167-500 (others give 265) miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.

The races which we may enumerate without being tedious, from the chain of Emodus, of which a spur is called Imaus (meaning in the native language *snowy*), are the Isari, Cosyri, Izgi, and on the hills the Chisiotosagi, and the Brachmanac, a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Maccocalingae. The river Prinas and the Cainas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable. The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei, and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile, and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Scythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoboas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia, in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis.<sup>8</sup> Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "precinct of war."<sup>8a</sup>

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations.<sup>9</sup> Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile. In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe<sup>10</sup>—that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called Modogalingae. Beyond are situated the Modubae, Molindae, the Uberae with a handsome town of the same name, the Galmოდြေႃႈ, Preti, Calissae, Sasuri, Passalae, Colubae, Orxulæ, Abali, Taluctæ. The king of these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andarae, a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardae, and silver among the Setae.

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,—nay, even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants; whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Monedes and Suari, in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately. Baeton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while **Megasthenes** says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The

river Jomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora. In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies. Artemidorus sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.<sup>10a</sup>

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise, receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra, which has three; the Acesines and the Hypasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces. It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale. Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calington and the town of Dandagula 625 miles; to Tropina 1225; to the cape of Perimula, where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallae, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parasangae, and the Asangae, where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles. Below the deserts are the Dari, the Surae, then deserts again for 187 miles, these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands. Below these deserts we find the Maltecorae, Singhae, Marohae, Rarungae, Moruni. These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the

ocean. They are free and have no kings,<sup>10b</sup> and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities. Next follow the Nareae, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oraturae, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the Varetatae, subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odomboerae; the Salabastreae; the Horatae, who have a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired—Automela, which being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandae, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derangae, Posingae, Buzae, Gogiarei, Umbrae, Nereae, Brancosi, Nobundae, Cocondac, Nesei, Pedatiriae, Solobriasae, Olostrae, who adjoin the island Patale, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow,<sup>10c</sup> the Amatae, Bolingae, Gallitalutae, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabae, Mesae; after these the Uri and Sileni. Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagae, Abaortae, Sibarae, Suertae, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgae, Baraomatae, and the Umbrittae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities. Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander's famous horse of that name was buried. Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Soleadae, and the Sondrae; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Samarabriae, Sambruceni, Bisambritae, Osii, Antixeni, and the Taxillae with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known

by the general name of *Amanda*, whereof the tribes are four in number—the *Peucolaitae*, *Arsagalitae*, *Geretae*, *Asoi*.

Many writers, however, do not give the river *Indus* as the western boundary of *India*, but include within it four satrapies, the *Gedrosi*, *Arachotae*, *Arii*, *Paropamisadae*, making the river *Cophes* its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the *Arii*.

Many writers further include in *India* even the city *Nysa* and *Mount Merus*, sacred to *Father Bacchus*, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of *Jupiter*. They include also the *Astacani*, in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel, and boxwood, and every kind of fruit-tree found in *Greece*. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of *Taprobane* requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being *Patale*, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the *Indus*, triangular in shape, and 220 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the *Indus* are *Chryse* and *Argyre*, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies *Crocala*, from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is *Bibaga*, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish. Next comes *Toralliba*, nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

### III. Description of *Taprobane* (*Ceylon*)

Book VI. e. 22 (24). *Taprobane*, under the name of the 'Land of the *Antichthones*', was long regarded as another world. The age and achievements of *Alexander the Great* made it clear that it is an island. *Onesicritus*, the commander of his fleet, had stated that its elephants are larger and more bellicose than those of *India*, and from *Megasthenes* we learn that it is divided by a river, and that its inhabitants are called *Palaeogoni*, and that it is more productive of gold and pearls of great size than *India* itself. *Eratosthenes* has also given its dimensions as 700 stadia in

length and 5000 stadia in breadth, while he states that it has no cities, but villages to the number of seven hundred. It begins at the Eastern Sea, and lies extended over against India east and west. The island in former days, when the voyage to it was made with vessels constructed of papyrus and rigged after the manner of the vessels of the Nile, was thought to be twenty days' sail from the country of the Prasii, but the distance came afterwards to be reckoned at a seven days' sail, according to the rate of speed of our ships. The sea between the island and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth, but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end to obviate the necessity of their turning about in channels of extreme narrowness. The tonnage of these vessels is 3000 amphorac.<sup>11</sup> In making sea-voyages, the Taprobane mariners make no observations of the stars, and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them, but they take birds out to sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land. The season for navigation is limited to four months, and they particularly shun the sea during the hundred days which succeed the summer solstice, for it is then winter in those seas.

So much we have learned from the old writers. It has been our lot, however, to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the island, for in the reign of the Emperor Claudius ambassadors came to his court therefrom, and under the following circumstances. A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed from the treasury the Red Sea revenues, while sailing around Arabia was carried away by gales of wind from the north beyond Carmania. In the course of fifteen days he had been wafted to Hippuri, a port of Taprobane, where he was humanely received and hospitably entertained by the king; and having in six months' time learned the language, he was able to answer the questions he was asked. The king particularly admired the Romans and their emperor as men possessed of an unheard-of love of justice, when he found that among the money taken from the captive the denarii were all of equal weight, although the different images stamped on them showed that they had been coined in the reigns of several emperors. This influenced him most of all to seek an alliance with the Romans, and he accordingly despatched to Rome four ambassadors, of whom the chief was Rachia (i.e. Rajah).

From these it was ascertained that in Taprobane there are



500 towns, and that there is a harbour facing the south, adjacent to the city of Palaesimundus, the most famous city in the island, the king's place of residence and inhabited by a population of 200,000. They stated also that in the interior there is a lake called Megisba 375 miles in circuit, and containing islands which are fertile, but only for pasturage. From this lake, they said, there issued two rivers, one of which, called Palaesimundus, flows into the harbour near the city of the same name by three channels, the narrowest of which is five stadia wide, the largest fifteen, while the third, called Cydara, has a direction northward towards India. They further said that the nearest point in India is a promontory called Coliacum, four days sail distant from the island, and that midway between them lies the island of the Sun; also that those seas are of a vivid green colour, and that a great number of trees<sup>12</sup> grow at the bottom, so that the rudders of the ships frequently break their crests off. They saw with astonishment the constellations visible to us—the Greater Bear and the Pleiades—as if they were set in a new heaven, and they declared that in their country the moon can only be seen above the horizon from the eighth to the sixteenth day, while they added that Canopus, a large bright star, illumined their nights. But what most of all excited their wonder was that their shadows fell towards our part of the world and not to their own, and that the sun rose on the left hand and set on the right, and not in the opposite direction. They also informed us that the side of their island which lies opposite to India is 10,000 stadia in length, and runs south-east—that beyond the Hemodi mountains they look towards the Seres, with whom they had become acquainted by commerce, also that the father of Rachia had often gone to their country, and that the Seres came to meet their visitors on their arrival. These people, they said, exceeded the ordinary stature of mankind, and had yellow hair and blue eyes; the tones of their voice were harsh and uncouth, and they could not communicate their thought by language. In other particulars their account of them agreed with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares that they deposit near those brought for sale by the Seres, on the further bank of a river *in their country*, are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange. The detestation of luxury could not in any way be better justified than by our transporting our thoughts to these and reflecting what the things are that are sought for to gratify it, from what vast distances they are brought,

and for what low ends.

But yet Taprobane even, though isolated by nature from the rest of the world, is not exempt from our vices. Even there gold and silver are held in esteem. They have a marble which resembles tortoiseshell, pearls also and precious stones, and these are all held in high honour. Their articles of luxury surpass our own, and they have them in great abundance. They asserted that their wealth is greater than ours, but acknowledged that we excelled them in the art of deriving enjoyment from opulence.

There are no slaves in the island; the inhabitants do not prolong their slumbers till daybreak, nor sleep during the day; their buildings are only of a moderate height from the ground; the price of corn is never enhanced; they have no courts of law and no litigation. Hercules is the God they worship; their king is chosen by the people, and must be an old man, of a gentle disposition and childless, and if after his election he should beget children, he is required to abdicate, lest the throne should become hereditary; thirty counsellors are provided for him by the people, and no one can be condemned to death except by the vote of the majority—the person so condemned has, however, the right of appeal to the people, in which case a jury of seventy persons is appointed; if these should acquit the accused, the thirty counsellors lose all the respect they enjoyed, and are subjected to the uttermost disgrace. The king dresses like Father Bacchus; the people like the Arabs. The king, if he offend in aught, is condemned to death, but no one slays him—all turn their backs upon him, and will not communicate with him in any way, not even by speech. Their festive occasions are spent in hunting, their favourite game being the tiger and the elephant. The land is carefully tilled; the vine is not cultivated, but other fruits are abundant. Great delight is taken in fishing, especially in catching turtles, beneath the shells of which the whole families can be housed, of such vast size are they to be found.<sup>13</sup> These people look upon a hundred years as but a moderate span of life. Thus much we have learned about Taprobane.

#### IV. Incidental Notices.

Book II. c. 73(75). In the same way they inform us that in the town of Syene, which is 5000 stadia south of Alexandria, no shadow is cast at noon on the day of the solstice, and that a

well dug for the purpose of the experiment was completely illuminated, from which it appears that the sun is vertical at that place, and Onesicritus writes that in India this is the case at that time at the river Hypasis. . . In the country of the Oretes, a people of India, is the mountain Maleus, near which the shadows in summer are cast to the south and in winter to the north. The stars of the Great Bear are visible there for fifteen days only. In India also, at Patala, a celebrated port, the sun rises on the right hand and the shadows fall to the south. It was observed, while Alexander was staying there the seven stars of the Bear were seen only at the early part of the evening. Onesicritus, one of his generals, states that in those parts of India where there are no shadows the Bear is not seen; these places, he says, are called 'ascia', and time there is not reckoned by hours.

C. 108(112). One part of the earth. . . stretches out to the greatest extent from east to west, that is, from India to the Pillars of Hercules at Gades, being a distance of 8578 miles according to Artemidorus, but according to Isidorus 9818 miles.

Book VI. c. 16(18). This nation (the Bactrian) lies at the back of the mount Paropanisus over against the sources of the river Indus.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (xi. vii. 3) writes to the same effect: 'Aristobulus says that the Oxus is easy to navigate (a circumstance which both he and Eratosthenes borrow from Patrokles), and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Hyrcanian sea, and are thence transferred into Albania by the Cyrus and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine. From the Cyrus the merchandise was conveyed in four days along a carriage road to the fortress of Sarapana, whence it was carried down the Phasis to the Euxine. See Strabo, XI. ii, 17. A passage to the same effect is quoted by Lassen from *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, ed. C. Miller, ii, 444. The *Iachrus* is supposed to be the *Bactrus*, which from Bactra (Balkh) joins the Oxus. There may have been an error in the transcription of the name. For a discussion of this question, of W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 488-493, (M-V, 110).

<sup>2</sup> Murphy the translator of Tacitus in one of his notes to the *Agricola* remarks thus upon this passage: 'The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the northern seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of *Japan*, the Coast of *Siberia*, *Kamchatska*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. . . . It may be proper to mention that about the year 1770, a set of navigators from *Japan* were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of *Siberia*, and having landed at *Kamchatska* were conveyed to *Petersburg*, and there

received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity,' (M-V, 110).

<sup>8</sup> Onesicritus was chief pilot of the fleet with which Nearchus made his famous voyage from the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. The Journal of this voyage (written by Nearchus) has been preserved by Arrian. It contains both the names of the stations and the distances between them, of which some are mentioned in the sequel of Pliny's text, which must here be corrupt. This account of Nearchus is given later in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> Sigerus has been taken to be the same as Melijigera in para 53 of the *Periplus*. Many other geographical names in Pliny's account will be found in the same work.

<sup>10</sup> Equivalent to £1,400,000 Sterling.

<sup>11</sup> The portion within the two asterisks "It will not be.....place for embarkation"—is not included in McCrindle's translation and is taken from Bostock's Translation.

<sup>12</sup> 65, according to Bostock's Translation.

<sup>13</sup> Bostock translates: "The last nation situated on the banks of the Ganges is that of the Gangaridaes Calingae; the city where their king dwells has the name of Protalis"; and adds in a footnote against Protails: "called Parthalis in most of the editions".

<sup>14</sup> Bostock translates: "This king has 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horse and 700 elephants, always caparisoned, ready for battle".

<sup>15</sup> Bostock translates: "The people are divided into several classes".

<sup>16</sup> Bostock translates: "by means of their exertions all the classes previously mentioned are supported. It is their duty to hunt....."

<sup>17</sup> a 2100 miles according to Bostock.

<sup>18</sup> b "independent of all kings" (Bostock).

<sup>19</sup> c Bostock translates: "After passing this island, the other side of the Indus is occupied, as we know by clear and undoubted proofs, by (the)".

<sup>20</sup> The amount of cargo carried by ancient ships was generally computed by the talent or the amphora, each of which weighed about a fortieth of a ton. The largest ships carried 10,000 talents or 250 tons. The talent and the amphora each represented a cubic foot of water, and as a Greek or Roman foot measured about .97 of an English foot, the talent and the amphora each weighed very nearly 57 lbs. See Torr's Ancient Ships, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Evidently coral reefs.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 18. 'In the sea which surrounds the island (Taprobane) tortoises have such enormous shells that these are employed to make roofs of the houses; for a shell being fifteen cubits long can hold a good number of people under it, screening them from the scorching rays of the sun besides affording them a welcome shade.'

## IX. Ptolemy.

Ptolemy's *Treatise on Geography* forms the sequel of his famous work on Astronomy. Both these works had the unique distinction of being regarded as authentic and standard treatises until quite recent times, and it may be said that they governed the world's opinion on these two subjects for a period of nearly 1300 years. Even now, when discoveries of modern times have brought to light its grave and manifold errors, Ptolemaic Geography has been the subject of many learned dissertations.

The Chapters of Ptolemy's Geography relating to India supply a long list of places, many of which are otherwise unknown, and indicate their location by referring to the degrees of latitude and longitude. Most of these place-names cannot be identified, for Ptolemy had a very distorted view of the shape of India and his determination of the positions of places is mostly inaccurate. Nevertheless, with the help of the few places which can be definitely identified with modern localities, persistent attempts have been made by a succession of learned scholars to determine the approximate location of, and even to identify, many of the other places. These have, however, met with very little success, and reference has been made in the footnotes to a few reasonable hypotheses only.

In view of the importance of the subject matter, not only the English translation of the chapters relating to India by McCrindle, but his learned Introduction (M-IV) have been reproduced below. A list of the geographical names, which are also mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, has been given at the end, and as their identifications have already been discussed in connection with this work, they are not dealt with in the notes.

## IX. Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia.

## I Introduction.

## Ptolemy and his System of Geography.

Calaudius Ptolemaeus, or as he is commonly called, Ptolemy, was distinguished alike as a Mathematician, a Musician, an Astronomer and a Geographer, and was altogether one of the most accomplished men of science that antiquity produced. His works were considered as of paramount authority from the time of their publication until the discoveries of modern times had begun to show their imperfections and errors. It is surprising that with all his fame, which had even in his own lifetime become pre-eminent, the particulars of his personal history should be shrouded in all but total darkness. Nothing in fact is known for certain regarding him further than that he flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the 2nd century of our era, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whom he appears to have survived.

His work on Geography formed a sequel to his great work on Astronomy, commonly called (by its Arabic title) the *Almagest*. From its title *An Outline of Geography*, we might be led to infer

that it was a general treatise on the subject, like the comprehensive work of Strabo, but in reality it treats almost exclusively of Mathematical, or what may be called Cosmical, Geography. Ptolemy's object in composing it was not like that of the ordinary Geographer to describe places, but to correct and reform the map of the world in accordance with the increased knowledge which had been acquired of distant countries and with the improved state of science. He therefore limits his argument to an exposition of the geometrical principles on which Geography should be based, and to a determination of the position of places on the surface of the earth by their latitudes and longitudes. What he considered to be the proper method of determining geographical positions he states very clearly in the following passage : "The proper course," he says, "in drawing up a map of the world is to lay down as the basis of it those points that were determined by the most correct (astronomical) observations, and to fit into it those derived from other sources, so that their positions may suit as well as possible with the principal points thus laid down in the first instance".

Unfortunately, as Bunbury remarks, it was impossible for him to carry out in practice—even approximately—the scheme that he had so well laid down in theory. The astronomical observations to which he could refer were but few—and they were withal either so defective or so inaccurate that he could not use them with confidence. At the same time his information concerning many parts of the earth, whether owing to their remoteness or the conflicting accounts of travellers regarding them, was imperfect in the extreme. The extent, however, of his geographical knowledge was far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors, and he had access to sources of information which enabled him to correct many of the errors into which they had fallen.

He was induced to undertake the composition of Geography through his being dissatisfied more or less with all the existing systems. There was however one work—that of his immediate precursor, Marinus of Tyre—which approximated somewhat closely to his ideal, and which he therefore made the basis of his own treatise. Marinus, he tells us, had collected his materials with the most praiseworthy diligence, and had moreover sifted them both with care and judgment. He points out, however, that his system required correction both as to the method of delineating the sphere on a plane surface, and as to the computation of distances, which he generally exaggerated. He censures him likewise for

having assigned to the known world too great a length from west to east, and too great a breadth from north to south.

Of Ptolemy's own system, the more prominent characteristics may now be noted: He assumed the earth to be a sphere, and adopting the estimate of Poseidonios fixed its circumference at 180,000 stadia, thus making the length of a degree at the equator to be only 500 stadia, instead of 600, which is its real length. To this fundamental miscalculation may be referred not a few of the most serious errors to be found in his work. With regard to the question of the length and the breadth of the inhabited part of the earth, a question of first importance in those days, he estimated its length, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes which divided the then known world into two nearly equal portions, at 72,000 stadia, and its breadth at 40,000 stadia. The meridian in the west from which he calculated his longitudes was that which passed through the Islands of the Blest, probably the Canary Islands, and his most eastern meridian was that which passed through the Metropolis of the Sinai, which he calls Sinai or Thinai, and places in  $180^{\circ} 40'$  E. Long, and  $3^{\circ}$  S. Lat. The distance of this meridian from that of Alexandria he estimated at  $119\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and the distance of the first meridian from the same at  $60\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, making together 180 degrees, or exactly one-half of the circumference of the earth. His estimate of the breadth he obtained by fixing the southern limit of the inhabited parts in the parallel of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of South Latitude, which passes through a point as far south of the Equator as Meroe is north of it. And by fixing the northern limit in the parallel of 63 degrees North Latitude, which passes through Thoule (probably the Shetland Islands), a space of nearly 80 degrees was thus included between the two parallels, and this was equivalent in Ptolemy's mode of reckoning to 40,000 stadia.

Having made these determinations he had next to consider in what mode the surface of the earth with its meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude should be represented on a sphere and on a plane surface—of the two modes of delineation that on the sphere is the much easier to make, as it involves no method of projection, but a map drawn on a plane is far more convenient for use, as it presents simultaneously to the eye a far greater extent of surface. Marinus had drawn his map of the world on a plane, but his method of projection was altogether unsatisfactory. It is thus described by Ptolemy: Marinus, he says, on account of the importance of the countries around the Mediterranean, kept

as his base the line fixed on of old by Eratosthenes, viz., the parallel through Rhodes in the 36th Degree of north latitude. He then calculated the length of a degree along this parallel, and found it to contain 400 stadia, the equatorial degree being taken at 500. Having divided this parallel into degrees he drew perpendiculars through the points of division for the meridians, and his parallels of latitude were straight lines parallel to that which passed through Rhodes. The imperfections of such a projection are obvious. It represented the parts of the earth north of the parallel of Rhodes much beyond, and those south of it much below, their proper length. Places again to the north of the line stood too far apart from each other, and those to the south of it too close together. The projection, moreover, is an erroneous representation, since the parallels of latitude ought to be circular arcs and not straight lines.

Ptolemy having pointed out these objections to the system of Marinus proceeds to explain the methods which he himself employed. We need say nothing more regarding them than that they were such as presented a near approximation to some of those which are still in use among modern Geographers.

Ptolemy's treatise is divided into 8 books. In the 1st or introductory book he treats first of Geography generally—he then explains and criticizes the system of Marinus, and concludes by describing the methods of projection which may be employed in the construction of maps. The next 6 books and the first 4 chapters of the 7th book consist of tables which give distinctly in degrees and parts of a degree the latitudes and longitudes of all the places in his map. These places are arranged together in sections according to the country or tribe to which they belong, and each section has prefixed to it a brief description of the boundaries and divisions of the part about to be noticed. Descriptive notices are also occasionally interspersed among the lists, but the number of such is by no means considerable. The remainder of the 7th book and the whole of the 8th are occupied with a description of a series of maps which, it would appear, had been prepared to accompany the publication of the work, and which are still extant. The number of the maps is twenty-six, viz. 10 for Europe, 4 for Libya, and 12 for Asia. They are drawn to different scales, larger or smaller, according as the division represented was more or less known. He gives for each map the latitudes and longitudes of a certain number of the most important cities contained in it, but these positions were



not given in the same manner as in the tables, for the latitudes are now denoted by the length of the longest day and the longitudes according to the difference of time from Alexandria. It might be supposed that the positions in question were such as had been determined by actual astronomical observations, as distinguished from those in the Tables, which were for the most part derived from itineraries, or from records of voyages and travels. This supposition is however untenable, for we find that while the statements as to the length of the longest days at the selected places are always correct for the latitudes assigned them, they are often glaring wrong for their real positions. Ptolemy, it is evident, first mapped out in the best way he could the places, and then calculated for the more important of these places the astronomical phenomena incident to them as so situated. I conclude by presenting the reader with a translation of some chapters of the Introductory Book, where Ptolemy in reviewing the estimate made by Marinus of the length of the known world from west to east, has frequent occasion to mention India and the Provinces beyond the Ganges, which together constitute what is now called Indo-China.

*Book. I., Chap. II.*

1. What has now been stated will suffice to show us what extent in *breadth* it would be fair to assign to the inhabited world. Its *length* is given by Marinus at 15 hours, this being the distance comprised between his two extreme meridians—but in our opinion he has unduly extended the distance towards the east. In fact, if the estimate be properly reduced in this direction the entire length must be fixed at less than 12 hours, the Islands of the Blest being taken as the limit towards the west, and the remotest parts of Sera and the Sinai and Kattigara as the limit towards the east.

2. Now the entire distance from the Islands of the Blest to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes, is accurately determined by summing together the several intervening distances as estimated in stadia by Marinus, for not only were the distances well ascertained from being frequently traversed, but Marinus seems moreover in his computation of the greater distances, to have taken into account the necessary corrections for irregularities and deviations. He understood, besides, that while the length of a single degree of the 360 degrees into which the equatorial circle is divided measures, as in the com-

monly accepted estimate, 500 stadia, the parallel circle which passes through Rhodes in 36 degrees of N. latitude, measures about 400 stadia.

3. It measures, in fact, a little over that number if we go by the exact portion of the parallels, but the excess is so trifling as in the case of the equatorial degree, that it may be neglected. But his estimates of the distances beyond Hierapolis require correction.

4. He computes the distance from the passage of the Euphrates already mentioned to the Stone Tower at 876 *schoeni* or 26,280 stadia, and from the Stone Tower to Sera, the metropolis of the Seres, at a 7 months' journey or 36,200 stadia as reckoned along the same parallel. Now in neither case has he made the proper deductions for the excess caused by deviations; and for the second route he falls into the same absurdity as when he estimated the distance from the Garamantes to Agisymba.

5. Where he had to deduct above half of the stadia in the march of the 3 months and 14 days, since such a march could not possibly have been accomplished without halting. The necessity for halting would be still more urgent when the march was one which occupied 7 months.

6. But the former march was accomplished even by the king of the country himself, who would naturally use every precaution, and the weather besides was all throughout most propitious. But the route from the Stone Tower to Sera is exposed to violent storms, for as he himself assumes, it lies under the parallels of the Helle-spont and Byzantium, so that the progress of travellers would be frequently interrupted.

7. Now it was by means of commerce this became known, for Marinus tells us that one Maes, a Macedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question, which he had obtained not by visiting the Seres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent to them. But Marinus seems to have distrusted accounts borrowed from traders.

8. In giving, for instance, on the authority of Philemon, the length of Ivernia (Ireland) at a 20 days' journey, he refused to accept this estimate, which was got, he tells us, from merchants, whom he reprobates as a class of men too much engrossed with their own proper business to care about ascertaining the truth, and who also from mere vanity frequently exaggerated distances. So too, in the case before us, it is manifest that nothing

in the course of the 7 months' journey was thought worthy either of record or remembrance by the travellers except the prodigious time taken to perform it.

*Cap. 12.*

1. Taking all this into consideration, together with the fact that the route does not lie along one and the same parallel (the Stone Tower being situated near the parallel of Byzantium, and Sera lying farther south than the parallel through the Hellespont) it would appear but reasonable in this case also to diminish by not less than a half the distance altogether traversed in the 7 months' journey, computed at 36,200 stadia, and so let us reduce the number of stadia which these represent at the equator by one-half only, and we thus obtain (22,625) stadia or 45½ degrees.

2. For it would be absurd, and show a want of proper judgment, if, when reason enjoins us to curtail the length of both routes, we should follow the injunction with respect to the African route, to the length of which there is the obvious objection, viz., the species of animals in the neighbourhood of Agisymba, which cannot bear to be transplanted from their own climate to another, while we refuse to follow the injunction with regard to the route from the Stone Tower, because there is not a similar objection to its length, seeing that the temperature all along this route is uniform, quite independently of its being longer or shorter. Just as if one who reasons according to the principles of philosophy could not, unless the case were otherwise clear, arrive at a sound conclusion.

3. With regard again to the first of the two Asiatic routes, that, I mean which leads from the Euphrates to the Stone Tower, the estimate of 870 *schoeni* must be reduced to 800 only, or 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations.

4. We may accept as correct his figures for the entire distance as the several stages had been frequently traversed and had therefore been measured with accuracy. But that there were numerous deviations is evident from what Marinus himself tells us.

5. For the route from the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and the route thence through the Garamaioi of Assyria, and through Media to Ecbatana and the Caspian Gates, and through Parthia to Hecatompylos Marinus considers to lie along the parallel which passes

through Rhodes, for he traces (in his map) this parallel as passing through these regions.

6. But the route from Hecatompyols to the capital city of Hyrcania must, of necessity, diverge to the north, because that city lies somewhere between the parallel of Smyrna and that of the Hellespont, since the parallel of Smyrna is traced as passing below Hyrcania and that of the Hellespont, through the southern parts of the Hyrcanian Sea from the city bearing the same name, which lies a little farther north.

7. But, again, the route herefrom to Antiokheia (Merv) of Margiana through Areia, at first bends towards the south, since Areia lies under the same parallel as the Caspian Gates, and then afterwards turns towards the north, Antiokheia being situated under the parallel of the Hellespont. The route after this runs in an eastward direction to Bactra whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountains of the Komedoi, and then in passing through these mountains it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine that opens into the plain country.

8. For the northern parts of the mountain region and those furthest to the west where the ascent begins, are placed by him under the parallel of Byzantium, and those in the south and the east under the parallel of the Hellespont. For this reason, he says, that this route makes a detour of equal length in opposite directions, that in advancing to the east it bends towards the south, and thereafter probably runs up towards the north for 50 *schoeni*, till it reaches the Stone Tower.

9. For to quote his own words, "When the traveller has ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra."

10. If, then, to the 60 degrees made up of the 24,000 stadia, we add the  $45\frac{1}{2}$  degrees which present the distance from the Stone Tower to Sera, we get  $105\frac{1}{2}$  degrees as the distance between the Euphrates and Sera as measured along the parallel of Rhodes.

11. But, further, we can infer from the number of stadia which he gives as the distance between successive places lying along the same parallel, that the distance from the Islands of the Blest to the sacred Promontory in Spain (*Cape St. Vincent*), is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and the distance thence to the mouth of the Baetis (*Guadalquivir*), the same. From the Baetis to Kalpe, and the entrance of the Straits,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. From the Straits to Karallis

in Sardinia, 25 degrees. From Karallis to Lilybaion, in Sicily,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. From this Cape to Pakhynos, 3 degrees. Then again, from Pakhynos to Tainaros, in Lakonia, 10 degrees. Thence to Rhodes,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. From Rhodes to Issus,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and finally from Issus to the Euphrates,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

12. The sum of these particular distances gives a total of 72 degrees, consequently the entire length of the known world between the meridian of the Islands of the Blest and that of the Seres is  $177\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, as has been already shown.

### Cap. 13.

1. That such is the length of the inhabited world may also be inferred from his estimate of the distances in a voyage from India to the Gulf of the Sinai and Katigara, if the sinuosities of the coast and irregularity of the navigation be taken into account, together with the positions as drawn into nearer proximity in the projections; for, he says, that beyond the Cape called Kory where the Kolkhic Gulf terminates, the Argaric Gulf begins, and that the distance thence to the City of Kouroula, which is situated to the north-east of Kory is 3,400 stadia.

2. The distance right across may, therefore, be estimated at about 2,030 stadia, since we have to deduct a third because of the navigation having followed the curvature of the Gulf, and have also to make allowances for irregularities in the length of the courses run.

3. If now we further reduce this amount by a third, because the sailing, *though subject to interruption*, was taken as continuous, there remain 1,350 stadia, determining the position of Kouroula as situated north-east from Kory.

4. If now this distance be referred to a line running parallel to the equator and towards the East, and we reduce its length by half in accordance with the intercepted angle, we shall have as the distance between the meridian of Kouroula and that of Kory, 675 stadia, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degree, since the parallels of these places do not differ materially from the great circle.

5. But to proceed : the course of the voyage from Kouroula lies, he says, to the south-east as far as Paloura, the distance being 9,450 stadia. Here, if we deduct as before one-third for the irregularities in the length of the courses, we shall have the distance on account of the navigation having been continuous to the south-

east about 6,300 stadia.

6. And if we deduct from this in like manner as before one-sixth, in order to find the distance parallel to the equator, we shall make the interval between the meridians of these two places 5,250 stadia, or  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

7. At this place the Gangetic Gulf begins, which he estimates to be in circuit 19,000 stadia. The passage across it from Paloura to Sada in a direct line from west to east is 1,300 stadia. Here, then, we have but one deduction to make, viz., one-third on account of the irregularity of the navigation, leaving as the distance between the meridians of Paloura and Sada 8,670 stadia, or  $17\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

8. The voyage is continued onward from Sada to the City of Tamala, a distance of 3,500 stadia, in a south-eastward direction. If a third be here again deducted on account of irregularities, we find the length of the continuous passage to be 2,330 stadia, but we must further take into account the divergence towards the south-east, and deduct one-sixth, so we find the distance between the meridians in question to be 1,940 stadia, or  $3^{\circ} 50'$  nearly.

9. He next sets down the passage from Tamala to the Golden Khersonese at 1,600 stadia, the direction being still towards the south-east, so that after making the usual deductions there remain as the distance between the two meridians 900 stadia, or  $1^{\circ} 48'$ . The sum of these particulars makes the distance from Cape Kory to the Golden Khersonese to be  $34^{\circ} 48'$ .

#### *Cap. 14.*

1. Marinus does not state the number of stadia in the passage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, but says that one Alexander had written that the land thereafter faced the south, and that those sailing along this coast reached the city of Zaba in 20 days, and by continuing the voyage from Zaba southward, but keeping more to the left, they arrived after some days at Kattigara.

2. He then makes this distance very great by taking the expression "some days" to mean "many days", assigning as his reason that the days occupied by the voyage were too many to be counted,—a most absurd reason, it strikes me.

3. For would even the number of days it takes to go round

the whole world be past counting? And was there anything to prevent Alexander writing "many" instead of "some", especially when we find him saying that Dioskoros had reported that the voyage from Rhapta to Cape Prasum took "many days". One might in fact with far more reason take "some" to mean "a few", for we have been wont to censure this style (*of expression*).

4. So now lest we should appear to fall ourselves into the same error, that of adapting conjectures about distances to some number already fixed on, let us compare the voyage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, consisting of the 20 days to Zaba and the "some days" thence to Kattigara with the voyage from Aromata to Cape Prasum, and we find that the voyage from Aromata to Rhapta took also 20 days as reported by Theophilos, and the voyage from Rhapta to Prasum "many more days" as reported by Dioskoros, so that we may set side by side the "some days" with the "many days" and like Marinus take them to be equivalent.

5. Since then, we have shown both by reasoning and by stating ascertained facts, that Prasum is under the parallel of  $16^{\circ} 25'$  in South latitude, while the parallel through Cape Aromata is  $4^{\circ} 15'$  in North latitude, making the distance between the two capes  $20^{\circ} 40'$ , we might with good reason make the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba and thence to Kattigara just about the same.

6. It is not necessary to curtail the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba, since as the coast faces the south it must run parallel with the equator. We must reduce, however, the distance from Zaba to Kattigara, since the course of the navigation is towards the south and the east, in order that we may find the position parallel to the equator.

7. If again, in our uncertainty as to the real excess of the distances, we allot say one-half of the degrees to each of these distances, and from the  $13^{\circ} 20'$  between Zaba and Kattigara we deduct a third on account of the divergence, we shall have the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara along a line parallel to the equator of about  $17^{\circ} 10'$ .

8. But it has been shown that the distance from Cape Kory to the Golden Khersonese is  $34^{\circ} 48'$ , and so the entire distance from Kory to Kattigara will be about  $52^{\circ}$ .

9. But again, the meridian which passes through the sources of the River Indus is a little further west than the Northern Promontory of Taprobane, which according to Marinus is opposite

to Kory, from which the meridian which passes through the mouths of the River Baetis is a distance of 8 hours or  $120^{\circ}$ . Now as this meridian is  $5^{\circ}$  from that of the Islands of the Blest, the meridian of Cape Kory is more than  $125^{\circ}$  from the meridian of the Islands of the Blest. But the meridian through Kattigara is distant from that through the Islands of the Blest a little more than  $177^{\circ}$  in the latitude of Kory, each of which contains about the same number of stadia as a degree reckoned along the parallel of Rhodes.

10. The entire length then of the world to the Metropolis of the Sinai may be taken at 180 degrees or an interval of 12 hours, since it is agreed on all hands that this Metropolis lies further east than Kattigara, so that the length along the parallel of Rhodes will be 72,000 stadia.

*Cap. 17. (part).*

3. For all who have crossed the seas to those places agree in assuring me that the district of Sakhalites in Arabia, and the Gulf of the same name, lie to the east of Syagros, and not to the west of it as stated by Marinus, who also makes Simylla, the emporium in India, to be further west not only than Cape Komari, but also than the Indus.

4. But according to the unanimous testimony both of those who have sailed from us to those places and have for a long time frequented them, and also of those who have come from thence to us, Simylla, which by the people of the country is called Timoula, lies only to the south of the mouths of the river, and not also to west of them.

5. From the same informants we have also learned other particulars regarding India and its different provinces, and its remote parts as far as the Golden Khersonese and onward thence to Kattigara. In sailing thither, the voyage, they said, was towards the east, and in returning towards the west, but at the same time they acknowledged that the period which was occupied in making the voyages was neither fixed nor regular. The country of the Seres and their Metropolis was situated to the north of the Sinai, but the regions to the eastward of both those people were unknown, abounding, it would appear, in swamps, wherein grew reeds that were of a large size and so close together that the inhabitants by means of them could go right across from one end of a swamp to the other.



In travelling these parts there was not only the road that led to Bactriane by way of the Stone Tower, but also a road that led into India through Palimbothra. The road again that led from the Metropolis of the Sinai to the Haven at Kattigara runs in a south-west direction, and hence this road does not coincide with the meridian which passes through Sera and Kattigara, but, from what Marinus tells us, with some one or other of those meridians that are further east.

I may conclude this prefatory matter by quoting from Mr. Bunbury his general estimate of the value of Ptolemy's Indian Geography as set forth in his criticism of Ptolemy's Map of India.

His strictures, though well grounded, may perhaps be considered to incline to the side of severity. He says (vol. II, pp. 642-3), "Some excellent remarks on the portion of Ptolemy's work devoted to India, the nature of the different materials of which he made use, and the manner in which he employed them, will be found in Colonel Yule's introduction to his Map of India, in Dr. Smith's Atlas of Ancient Geography (pp. 22-24). These remarks are indeed in great measure applicable to the mode of proceeding of the Alexandrian Geographer in many other cases also, though the result is particularly conspicuous in India from the fulness of the information—crude and undigested as it was—which he had managed to bring together. The result, as presented to us in the tables of Ptolemy, is a map of utter confusion, out of which it is very difficult to extract in a few instances any definite conclusions." The attempt of Lassen to identify the various places mentioned by Ptolemy, is based throughout upon the fundamental error of supposing that the geographer possessed a Map of India similar to our own, and that we have only to compare the ancient and modern names in order to connect the two. As Col. Yule justly observes: "Practically, he (Lassen) deals with Ptolemy's compilation as if that Geographer had possessed a collection of real Indian surveys, with the data systematically co-ordinated. The fact is, that if we should take one of the rude maps of India that appeared in the 16th century (e.g. in Mercator or in Lindschoten), draw lines of latitude and longitude and then *more Ptolemaico* construct tables registering the co-ordinates of cities, sources and confluences as they appeared in that map, this would be the sort of material we have to deal with in Ptolemy's India". But, in fact, the case is much stronger than Col. Yule puts it. For such a map as he refers to, of the

16th century, however rude, would give a generally correct idea of the form and configuration of the Indian Peninsula. But this, as we have seen, was utterly misconceived by Ptolemy. Hence he had to fit his data, derived from various sources such as maritime and land itineraries, based upon real experience, into a framework to which they were wholly unsuited, and this could only be effected by some Procrustean process, or rather by a repetition of such processes, concerning which we are left wholly in the dark.

Col. Yule's map of Ancient India is undoubtedly by far the best that has yet been produced: it is indeed the only attempt to interpret Ptolemy data, upon which such a map must mainly be founded, upon anything like sound critical principles. But it must be confessed that the result is far from encouraging. So small a proportion of Ptolemy's names can find a place at all, and so many of those even that appear on the map are admitted by its author to rest upon very dubious authority; that we remain almost wholly in the dark as to the greater part of his voluminous catalogues; and are equally unable to identify the localities which he meant to designate, and to pronounce an opinion upon the real value of his materials".

## II. Text.

### Book VII

#### Cap. I.

#### *Description of India within the Ganges.*

1. India within the river Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropanisadai and Arakhosia and Gedrosia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaos along the Sogdiaioi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by a portion of the Indian Ocean. The circuit of the coast of this ocean is thus described :—

2. In Syrastrène, on the Gulf called  
 Kanthi, a roadstead and harbour .. 109° 30' 20°  
 The most western mouth of the River Indus  
 called Sagapa .. .. 110° 20' 19° 50'

The next mouth called Sinthon	..	110° 40'	19° 50'
The 3rd called Khrysoun (the Golden)	..	111° 20'	19° 50'
The 4th called Kariphron	..	111° 40'	19° 50'
The 5th called Sapara	..	112° 30'	19° 50'
The 6th called Sabalaessa	..	113°	20° 15'
The 7th called Lonibare	..	113° 30'	20° 15'
3. Bardaxema, a town	..	113° 40'	19° 40'
Syrastra, a village	..	114°	19° 30'
Monoglosson, a mart	..	114° 10'	18° 40'
4. In Larike.			
Mouth of the River Mophis	..	114°	18° 20'
Pakidare, a village	..	113°	17° 50'
Cape Maleo	..	111°	17° 30'
5. In the Gulf of Barygaza.			
Kamane	..	112°	17°
Mouth of the River Namados	..	112°	17° 45'
Nausaripa	..	112° 30'	16° 30'
Poulipoula	..	112° 30'	16°
6. Ariake Sadinon.			
Soupara	..	112° 30'	15° 30'
Mouth of the River Goaris	..	112° 15'	15° 10'
Dounga	..	111° 30'	15°
Mouth of the River Benda	..	110° 30'	15°
Simylla, a mart and a cape	..	110°	14° 45'
Hippokoura	..	111° 45'	14° 10'
Baltipatna	..	110° 30'	14° 20'
7. (Ariake) of the Pirates.			
Mandagara	..	113°	14°
Byzanteion	..	113° 40'	14° 40'
Khersonesos	..	114° 20'	14° 30'
Armagara	..	114° 20'	14° 20'
Mouth of the River Nanagouna	..	114° 30'	13° 50'
Nitra, a mart	..	115° 30'	14° 40'
8. Limyrike.			
Tyndis, a city	..	116°	14° 30'
Bramagara	..	116° 45'	14° 20'
Kalaikarias	..	116° 40'	14°
Mouziris, an emporium	..	117°	14°
Mouth of the River Pseudostomos	..	117° 20'	14°
Podoperoura	..	117° 40'	14° 15'
Semne	..	118°	14° 20'

Koreoura .. .. .	118° 40'	14° 20'
Bakarei .. .. .	119° 30'	14° 30'
Mouth of the River Baris .. .. .	120°	14° 20'

## 9. Country of the Aioi.

Melkynda .. .. .	120° 20'	14° 20'
Elangkon (or Elangkor), a mart .. .. .	120° 40'	14°
Kottiarra, the metropolis .. .. .	121°	14°
Bammala .. .. .	121° 20'	14° 15'
Komaria, a cape and town .. .. .	121° 45'	13° 30'

## 10. Country of the Karcoi.

In the Kolkhic Gulf, where there is the Pearl Fishery :—

Sosikourai .. .. .	122°	14° 30'
Kolkhoi, an emporium .. .. .	123°	15°
Mouth of the river Solen .. .. .	124°	14° 40'

## 11. Land of Pandion.

In the organic Gulf, Cape

Kory, called also Kalligikon .. .. .	125° 40'	12° 20'
Argeirou, a town .. .. .	125° 15'	14° 30'
Salour, a mart .. .. .	125° 20'	15° 30'

## 12. Country of the Batoi.

Nikama, the Metropolis .. .. .	126°	16°
Thelkheir .. .. .	127°	16° 10'
Kouroula, a town .. .. .	128°	16°

13. In Paralia specially so called : the country of the Toringoi.

Mouth of the River Khaberos .. .. .	129°	15° 15'
Khaberis, an emporium .. .. .	128° 30'	15° 40'
Sabouras, an emporium .. .. .	130°	14° 30'

## 14. The Arouarnoi (Arvarnoi).

Podouke, an emporium .. .. .	130° 15'	14° 30'
Melange, an emporium .. .. .	131°	14° 20'
Mouth of the River Tyna .. .. .	131° 40'	12° 45'
Kottis .. .. .	132° 20'	12° 10'
Manarpha (or Manaliarpha, a mart) .. .. .	133° 10'	12°

## 15. Maisolia.

Mouth of the River Maisolos .. .. .	134°	11° 40'
Kontakossyla, a mart .. .. .	134° 30'	11° 40'
Koddoura .. .. .	135°	11° 30'
Allosygne, a mart .. .. .	135° 40'	11° 20'
The point of departure ( <i>apheterion</i> ) for ships bound for Khryse .. .. .	136° 20'	11°

## 16. In the Gangetic Gulf.

Paloura or Pakoura, a town	..	136° 40'	11° 20'
Nanigaina	.. ..	136° 20'	12°
Katikardama	.. ..	136° 20'	12° 40'
Kannagara	.. ..	136° 30'	13° 30'
Mouth of the River Manada	..	137°	14°
Kottobara	.. ..	137° 15'	14° 40'
Sippara	.. ..	137° 40'	15° 30'
Mouth of the River Tyndis	..	138° 30'	16°

17. Mapoura	.. ..	139°	16° 30'
Minagara	.. ..	140°	17° 15'
Mouth of the Dosaron	.. ..	141°	17° 40'
Kokala	.. ..	142°	18°
Mouth of the River Adamas	..	142° 40'	18°
Kosamba or Kosaba	.. ..	143° 30'	18° 15'

## 18. Mouths of the Ganges.

The Kambyson mouth, the most western	144° 30'	18° 15'
Poloura, a town	145°	18° 30'
The second mouth, called Mega	145° 45'	18° 30'
The third called Kamberikhon	146° 30'	18° 40'
Tilogrammon, a town	147° 20'	18°
The fourth mouth, Pseudostomon	147° 40'	18° 30'
The fifth mouth, Antibole	148° 30'	18° 15'

19. The mountains belonging to Intragangetic India are named as follows :—

The Apokopa, called *Poinai Theon*, which extended from long. 116° to 124° and from lat. 23° at their western limit to 26° at the eastern.

20. Mount Sardonyx, in which is found the precious stone of the same name, and whose middle point is in long. 117° and lat. 21°.

21. Mount Ouindion (Vindion) which extends from 126° to 135° and preserves from its western to its eastern limit a uniform latitude of 27°.

22. Bettigo, which extends from 123° to 130°, and whose western limit is in lat. 21° and its eastern in 20°.

23. Adeisathron, whose middle point is in long. 132° and in lat. 23°.

24. Ouxenton, which extends from 136° to 143°, and whose western limit is in lat. 22° and its eastern in 24°.

25. The Oroudian Mountains, which extends from  $138^{\circ}$  to  $133^{\circ}$ , and whose eastern limit is in  $18^{\circ}$  lat. and its western  $16^{\circ}$ .

26. The rivers which flow from Mount Imaos into the Indus are arranged as follows :—

Sources of the River Koa	..	$120^{\circ}$	$37^{\circ}$
Sources of the River Souastos	..	$122^{\circ} 30'$	$36^{\circ}$
Sources of the River Indus	..	$125^{\circ}$	$37^{\circ}$
Sources of the River Bidaspes	..	$127^{\circ} 30'$	$36^{\circ} 40'$
Sources of the River Sandabal	..	$129^{\circ}$	$36^{\circ}$
Sources of the River Adris or Rouadis		$130^{\circ}$	$37^{\circ}$
Sources of the River Bibasis	..	$131^{\circ}$	$35^{\circ} 30'$
27. Sources of the River Zaradros		$132^{\circ}$	$36^{\circ}$
Confluence of the Koa and Indus	..	$124^{\circ}$	$31^{\circ}$
Confluence of the Koa and Souastos	..	$122^{\circ} 30'$	$31^{\circ} 40'$
Confluence of the Zaradros and Indus		$124^{\circ}$	$30^{\circ}$
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bidaspes		$125^{\circ}$	$30^{\circ}$
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bibasis		$131^{\circ}$	$34^{\circ}$
Confluence of the Bidaspes and Adris		$126^{\circ} 30'$	$31^{\circ} 30'$
Confluence of the Bidaspes and Sandabal		$126^{\circ} 40'$	$32^{\circ} 40'$
28. Divarication from the Indus			
running towards Mt. Ouindion	..	$123^{\circ}$	$29^{\circ} 30'$
The source of (tributary joining)			
the Divarication	.. ..	$127^{\circ}$	$27^{\circ}$
Divarication of the Indus			
towards Arakhosia	.. ..	$121^{\circ} 30'$	$27^{\circ} 30'$
Divarication of the Koa towards			
the Paropanisadai	.. ..	$121^{\circ} 30'$	$33^{\circ}$
The source of (tributary joining)			
the Divarication	.. ..	$115^{\circ}$	$24^{\circ} 30'$
Divarication of the Indus			
towards the Arbita Mountains	..	$117^{\circ}$	$25^{\circ} 10'$
Divarication of the Indus			
towards the Paropanisadai	..	$124^{\circ} 30'$	$31^{\circ} 20'$
Divarication of the Indus			
into the Sagapa mouth	..	$113^{\circ} 40'$	$23^{\circ} 15'$
From the Sagapa into the Indus	..	$111^{\circ}$	$21^{\circ} 30'$
Divarication of the Indus			
into the Khrysoun (or Golden) mouth		$112^{\circ} 30'$	$22^{\circ}$
Divarication of the Indus			
into the Khariphon mouth	..	$113^{\circ} 30'$	$22^{\circ} 20'$
From the Khariphon to the Sapara	..	$112^{\circ} 30'$	$21^{\circ} 45'$

Divarication of the same River Khariphon into the Sabalaessa mouth ..	113°	21° 20'
Divarication from the River Khariphon into the Lonibare mouth ..	113° 20'	21° 40'
29. Of the streams which join the Ganges the order is this:—		
Sources of the River Diamouna ..	134° 30'	36°
Sources of the Ganges itself ..	136°	37°
Sources of the River Sarabos ..	140°	36°
Junction of the Diamouna and Ganges	136°	34°
Junction of the Sarabos and Ganges ..	136° 30'	32° 30'
30. Divarication from the Ganges towards the Ouindion range to the mouth of the River Soa		
	136° 10'	31° 30'
The Sources of the river ..	131°	28°
Divarication of the Ganges towards the Ouxenton range ..	142°	28°
The sources of the divarication ..	137°	23°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Kambyson Mouth ..	146°	22°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Pseudostomos ..	146° 30'	20°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Antibole Mouth ..	146° 30'	21°
Divarication from the Kambyson River into the Mega Mouth ..	145°	20°
Divarication from the Mega Mouth into the Kamberikhon Mouth ..	145° 30'	19° 30'
31. And of the other rivers the positions are thus :—		
The sources of the River Namados in the Ouindion range ..	127°	26° 30'
The bend of the river at Seripala ..	116° 30'	22°
Its confluence with the River Mophis ..	115°	18° 30'
32. Sources of the River		
Nanagouna from the Ouindion range ..	132°	26° 30'
Where it bifurcates into the Goaris and Binda .. ..	114°	16°
33. Sources of the Pseudostomos		
from the Bettigo range ..	123°	21°
The point where it turns ..	118° 30'	17° 15'
34. Sources of the River		
Baris in the Bettigo range ..	127°	26° 30'

## Sources of the River Solen

in the Bettigo range .. ..	127°	20° 30'
The point where it turns .. ..	124°	18°

## 35. Sources of the River Khaberos

in the Adeisathron range .. ..	132°	22°
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## 36. Sources of the River Tyna in the

Oroudian (or Arouedan) Mountains	133°	17°
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## 37. Sources of the River Maisolos

in the same mountains .. ..	134° 30'	17° 30'
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## 38. Sources of the River Manda

in the same mountains .. ..	136° 30'	16° 30'
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## 39. Sources of the River Toundis

in the Ouxenton range .. ..	137°	22° 30'
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## 40. Sources of the River Dosaron

in the same range .. ..	140°	24°
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## 41. Sources of the River Adamas

in the same range .. ..	140°	24°
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42. The order of the territories in this division (India intra Gangem) and of their cities or villages is as follows :—

Below the sources of the Koa are located the Lambatai, and their mountain region extends upwards to that of the Komedai.

Below the sources of the Souastos is Souastene.

Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country the mountains are of surpassing height.

Below the sources of the Bidaspes and of the Sandabal and of the Adris is Kaspeiria.

Below the sources of the Bibasis and of the Zaradros and of the Diamouna and of the Ganges is Kylindrine, and below the Lambatai and Souastene is Goryaia.

43. And the cities are these :—

Kaisana .. ..	120°	34° 20'
Baborana .. ..	120° 15'	33° 40'
Gorya .. ..	122°	34° 45'
Nagara or Dionysopolis .. ..	121° 45'	33°
Drastoka .. ..	120° 30'	32° 30'

44. Between the Souastos and the Indus the Gandarai and these cities :—

Proklais .. ..	123°	32°
Naulibi .. ..	124° 20'	33° 20'



45. Between the Indus and the Bidaspes towards the Indus the Arsa territory and these cities :—

Ithagouros	..	..	125° 40'	33° 20'
Taxiala	..	..	125°	32° 15'

46. Around the Bidaspes, the country of the Pandououi, in which are these cities :—

Labaka	..	..	127° 30'	34° 15'
Sagala, otherwise called Euthymedia	..	..	126° 20'	32°
Boukephala	..	..	125° 30'	30° 20'
Iomousa	..	..	124° 15'	30°

47. The regions extending thence towards the east are possessed by the Kaspeiraioi, and to them belong these cities :—

48. Salagissa	..	..	129° 30'	34° 30'
Astrassos	..	..	131° 15'	34° 15'
Labokla	..	..	128°	33° 20'
Batanagra	..	..	130°	33° 30'
Arispara	..	..	130°	32° 50'
Amakatis	..	..	128° 15'	32° 20'
Ostobalasara	..	..	129°	32°

49. Kaspeira	..	..	127°	31° 15'
Pasikana	..	..	128° 30'	31° 15'
Daidala	..	..	128°	30° 30'
Ardone	..	..	126° 15'	30° 10'
Indabara	..	..	127° 15'	30°
Ligancira	..	..	125° 30'	29°
Khonnamagara	..	..	128°	29° 20'

50. Modoura, the city of the gods	..	..	125°	27° 30'
Gagasmira	..	..	126° 40'	27° 30'
Erarasa, a Metropolis	..	..	123°	26°
Kognandaua	..	..	124°	26°

51. Still further to the east than the Kaspeiraioi are the Gymnosophistai, and after these around the Ganges further north are the Daitikhai with these towns :—

Konta	..	..	133° 30'	34° 40'
Margara	..	..	135°	34°
Batangkaissara and east of the river	..	..	132° 40'	33° 20'
Passala	..	..	137°	34° 15'
Orza	..	..	136°	33° 20'

52. Below these are the Anikhai with these towns :—

Persakra	..	..	134°	32° 40'
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Sannaba	..	..	135°	32° 30'
Toana to the east of the river	..	..	136° 30'	32°

53. Below these Prasiake with these towns :—

Sambalaka	..	..	132° 15'	31° 50'
Adisdara	..	..	136°	31° 30'
Kanagora	..	..	135°	30° 40'
Kindia	..	..	137°	30° 20'
Sagala, and east of the river	..	..	139°	30° 20'
Aninakha	..	..	137° 20'	31° 40'
Koangka	..	..	138° 20'	31° 30'

54. South of this Saurabatis with these towns :—

Empelathra	..	..	130°	30°
Nadoubandagar	..	..	138° 40'	29°
Tamasis	..	..	133°	29°
Kouraporeina	..	..	130°	29°

55. And further, all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Scythia. Of this, the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalene, and the region above this is Abiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Syras-trene. The towns of Indo-Scythia are these: to the west of the river at some distance therefrom :—

56. Artoarta	..	..	121° 30'	31° 15'
Andrapana	..	..	121° 15'	30° 40'
Sabana	..	..	122° 20'	32°
Banagara	..	..	122° 15'	30° 40'
Kodrana	..	..	121° 15'	29° 20'

57. And along the river :—

Embolima	..	..	124°	31°
Pentagramma	..	..	124°	30° 20'
Asigramma	..	..	123°	29° 30'
Tiausa	..	..	121° 30'	28° 50'
Aristobathra	..	..	120°	27° 30'
Azika	..	..	119° 20'	27°

58. Pardabathra	..	..	117°	23° 30'
Piska	..	..	116° 30'	25°
Pasipeda	..	..	114° 30'	24°
Sousikana	..	..	112°	22° 20'
Bonis	..	..	111°	21° 30'
Kolaka	..	..	110° 30'	20° 40'

59. And in the islands formed by the river are these towns :—

Patala	..	..	112° 30'	21°
Barbarei	..	..	113° 15'	22° 30'

60. And east of the river at some distance therefrom are these towns :—

Xodrake	..	..	116°	24°
Sarbana	..	..	116°	22° 50'
Auxoamis	..	..	115° 30'	22° 20'
Asinda	..	..	114° 15'	22°
Orbadarou or Ordabari	..	..	115°	22°
Theophila	..	..	114° 15'	21° 10'
Astakapra	..	..	114° 40'	20° 15'

61. Along the river are these towns :—

Panasa	..	..	122° 30'	29°
Boudaia	..	..	121° 15'	28° 15'
Naagramma	..	..	120°	27°
Kamigara	..	..	119°	26° 20'
Binagara	..	..	118°	25° 20'
Parabali	..	..	116° 30'	24° 30'
Sydros	..	..	114°	21° 20'
Epitausea	..	..	113° 45'	22° 30'
Xoana	..	..	113° 30'	21° 30'

62. The parts east of Indo-Scythia along the coast belong to the country of Larike, and here in the interior to the west of the river Namados is a mart of commerce, the city of

Barygaza	..	..	113° 15'	17° 20'
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63. To the east of the river :—

Agrinagara	..	..	118° 15'	22° 30'
Siripalla	..	..	118° 30'	21° 30'
Bammogoura	..	..	116°	20° 45'
Sazantion	..	..	115° 30'	20° 30'
Zerogerei	..	..	116° 20'	19° 50'
Ozene, the capital of Tiastanes	..	..	117°	20°
Minagara	..	..	115° 10'	19° 30'
Tiatoura	..	..	115° 50'	18° 50'
Nasika	..	..	114°	17°

64. The parts farther inland are possessed by the Poulindai Agriophagoi, and beyond them are the Khatriai, to whom belong these cities, lying some east and some west of the Indus :—

Nigranigramma	..	..	124°	28° 15'
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Antakhara	..	..	122°	27° 20'
Soudasanna	..	..	123°	26° 50'
Syrnisika	..	..	121°	26° 30'
Patistama	..	..	121°	25°
Tisapatinga	..	..	123°	24° 20'

65. But again, the country between Mount Sardonyx and Mount Bettigo belongs to the Tabasoi, a great race, while the country beyond them as far as the Vindhya range, along the eastern bank of the Namados, belongs to the Prapiotai, who include the Rhamnai, and whose towns are these :—

Kognabanda	..	..	120° 15'	23°
Ozoabis	..	..	120° 30'	23° 40'
Ostha	..	..	122° 30'	23° 30'
Kosa, where are diamonds	..	..	121° 20'	22° 30'

66. About the Nanagouna are the Phyllitai and the Bettigoi, including the Kandaloï along the country of the Phyllitai and the river, and the Ambastai along the country of the Bettigoi and the mountain range, and the following towns :—

67. Agara	..	..	129° 20'	25°
Adeisathra	..	..	128° 30'	24° 30'
Sora	..	..	124° 20'	24°
Nygdosora	..	..	125°	23°
Anara	..	..	122° 30'	22° 20'

68. Between Mount Bettigo and Adeisathros are the Sorai nomads, with these towns :—

Sangamarta	..	..	133°	21°
Sora, the capital of Arkatos	..	..	130°	21°

69. Again to the east of the Vindhya range is the territory of the (Biolingai or) Bolingai, with these towns :—

Stagabaza or Bastagaza	..	..	133°	28° 30'
Bardaotis	..	..	137° 30'	28° 30'

70. Beyond these is the country of the Porouaroi with these towns :—

Bridama	..	..	134° 30'	27° 30'
Tholoubana	..	..	136° 20'	27°
Malaita	..	..	136° 30'	25° 50'

71. Beyond these as far as the Ouxentos range are the Adeisathroi with these towns :—

Maleiba	..	..	140°	27° 20'
Aspathis	..	..	138° 30'	25° 20'

Panassa .. .. .	137° 40'	24° 30'
Sageda, the Metropolis .. .. .	133°	23° 30'
Balantipyrgon .. .. .	136° 30'	23° 30'

72. Farther east than the Adeisathroi towards the Ganges are the Mandalai with this city :—

Astthagoura .. .. .	142°	25°
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73. And on the river itself these towns :—

Sambalaka .. .. .	141°	20° 30'
Sigalla .. .. .	142°	28°
Palimbothra, the Royal residence .. .. .	143°	27°
Tamalites .. .. .	144° 30'	26° 30'
Oreophanta .. .. .	146° 30'	24° 30'

74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bettigo are occupied by the Brakhmanai Magoi as far as the Batai with this city :—

Brakhme .. .. .	128°	19°
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75. The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Arouraioi are occupied by the Badiamaioi with this city :—

Tathilba .. .. .	134°	18° 50'
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76. The parts under the Ouxentos range are occupied by the Drilophyllitai, with these cities :—

Sibrion .. .. .	139°	22° 20'
Opotoura .. .. .	137° 30'	21° 40'
Ozoana .. .. .	138° 15'	20° 30'

77. Further east than these towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with this city :—

Dosara .. .. .	142° 30'	22° 30'
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78. And on the river farther west :—

Kartinaga .. .. .	146°	23°
Kartasina .. .. .	146°	21° 40'

79. Under the Maisolai the Salakenoi towards the Oroudian (or Arouraian) Mountains with these cities :—

Benagouron .. .. .	140°	20° 15'
Kastra .. .. .	138°	19° 30'
Magaris .. .. .	137° 30'	18° 20'

80. Towards the Ganges River the Sabarai, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance, their towns are :—

Tasopion .. .. .	140° 30'	22°
Karikardama .. .. .	141°	20° 15'

81. All the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridai with this city :—

Gange, the Royal residence .. .. .	146°	19° 15'
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82. In the parts of Ariake which still remain to be described are the following inland cities and villages : to the west of the Benda these cities :—

Malippala	..	..	119° 30'	20° 15'
Sarisabis	..	..	119° 30'	20°
Tagara	..	..	118°	19° 20'
Baithana (the royal seat of [Siro]				
Ptolemaios or Polemaios)	..	..	117°	18° 30'
Deopali or Deopala	..	..	115° 40'	17° 50'
Gamaliba	..	..	115° 15'	17° 20'
Omenogara	..	..	114°	16° 20'

83. Between the Benda and Pseudostomos :—

Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris)	..	..	120°	20° 15'
Tabaso	..	..	121° 30'	20° 40'
Inde	..	..	123°	20° 45'
Tiripangalida	..	..	121° 15'	19° 40'

Hippokoura, the royal seat of

Baleokouros	..	..	119° 45'	19° 10'
Soubouttou	..	..	120° 15'	19° 10'
Sirimalaga	..	..	119° 20'	18° 30'
Kalligeris	..	..	118°	18°
Modogoulla	..	..	119°	18°
Petirgala	..	..	117° 45'	17° 15'
Banaouasei	..	..	116°	16° 45'

84. The inland cities of the Pirates are these :—

Olokhoira	..	..	114°	15°
Mousopalle, the metropolis	..	..	115° 30'	15° 45'

85. Inland cities of Limyrike, to the west of the Pseudostomos are these :—

Naroulla	..	..	117° 45'	15° 50'
Kouba	..	..	117°	15°
Paloura	..	..	117° 51'	14° 40'

86. Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris, these cities :—

Pasage	..	..	124° 50'	19° 50'
Mastanour	..	..	121° 30'	18° 40'
Kourellour	..	..	119°	17° 30'
Pounnata, where is beryl	..	..	121° 20'	17° 30'
Aloe	..	..	120° 20'	17°
Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros	..	..	119°	16° 20'
Arembour	..	..	121°	16° 20'

Bideris	..	..	119°	15° 50'
Pantipolis	..	..	118°	15° 20'
Adarima	..	..	119° 30'	15° 40'
Koreour	..	..	120°	15°

## 87. Inland town of the Aioi :—

Morounda	..	..	121° 20'	14° 20'
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## 88. Inland cities of the Kareoi :—

Mendela	..	..	123°	17° 40'
Selour	..	..	121° 45'	16° 30'
Tittoua	..	..	122°	15° 20'
Mantittour	..	..	123°	15° 10'

## 89. Inland cities of the Pandionoi :—

Tainour	..	..	124° 45'	18° 40'
Peringkarei	..	..	123° 20'	18°
Korindiour	..	..	125°	17° 40'
Tangala or Taga	..	..	123° 30'	16° 50'
Modoura, the royal city of Pandion	..	..	125°	16° 20'
Akour	..	..	124° 45'	15° 20'

## 90. Inland cities of the Batoi :—

Kalindoia	..	..	127° 40'	17° 30'
Bata	..	..	126° 30'	17°
Talara	..	..	128°	16° 45'

## 91. Inland cities of the Paralia of the Soretai :—

Kaliour	..	..	129°	17° 20'
Tennagora	..	..	132°	17°
Eikour	..	..	129°	16° 40'
Orthoura, the royal city of Sornagos	..	..	130°	16° 20'
Bere	..	..	130° 20'	16° 15'
Abour	..	..	129°	16°
Karmara	..	..	130° 20'	15° 40'
Magour	..	..	130°	15° 15'

## 92. The inland cities of the Arvarnoi are these :—

Kerauge	..	..	133°	16° 15'
Phrourion	..	..	132°	15°
Karige	..	..	132° 40'	15°
Poleour	..	..	131° 30'	14° 40'
Pikendaka	..	..	131° 30'	14°
Iatour	..	..	132° 30'	14°
Skopoloura	..	..	134° 15'	14° 35'
Ikarta	..	..	133° 30'	13° 40'

Malanga, the royal city of Basaronagos	133°	13°
Kandipatna .. .. .	133° 30'	12° 20'

## 93. The inland cities of the Maisoloi :—

Kalliga .. .. .	138°	17°
Bardamana .. .. .	136° 15'	15° 15'
Koroungkala .. .. .	135°	15°
Pharytra or Pharetra .. .. .	134° 20'	13° 20'
Pityndra, the metropolis .. .. .	135° 20'	12° 30'

94. Islands lying near the part of India which projects *into the ocean* in the Gulf of Kanthi :—

Barake .. .. .	111°	18°
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## 95. And along the line of coast as far as the Kolkhic Gulf:—

Milizegyris (or Milizigeris) .. .. .	110°	12° 30'
Heptanesia .. .. .	113°	13°
Trikadiba .. .. .	113° 30'	11°
Peperine .. .. .	115°	12° 40'
Trinesia .. .. .	116° 20'	12°
Leuke .. .. .	118°	12°
Nanigeris .. .. .	122°	12°

## 96. And in the Argaric Gulf :—

Kory .. .. .	126° 30'	13°
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List of place-names which occur, sometimes in the same form and sometimes with slight modifications, in both Ptolemy's *Geography* and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

The names are alphabetically arranged and spelt according to the Latin system (i.e. *c* for *k* and *us* for *os* of Greek spelling).

Abiria	Larice
Arachosii	Leuce (Island)
Argaru	Limyrice
Ariace	Madoura
Ashtacapra	Masalia
Azania	Melizegyris (Melizeigara)
Baithana (Paethana)	Minagara
Bakare	Muziris
Barace	Nelcynda
Barbarci (Barburicon)	Oozene
Barygaza	Pandion
Byzantion	Paralia
Camane	Paropanisus
Caspeiria (Caspapyra)	Patalene, Patala
Chersonesus	Proclais
Colchi	Semylla
Comar	Suppara
Gandarai	Syrastrene
Ganges	Tagara
	Tyndis

#### NOTES

The notes are arranged separately under each para indicated by the Arab numeral on the left.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo and Eratosthenes regarded the Indus as the western boundary of India, but Ptolemy extends it to the Hindu Kush and includes modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Kandahar within India. Sogdiana lay to the north of Bactria, and the Sakai were located to the east of the Sogdians.

<sup>2</sup> The Gulf called Kanthi is the Gulf of Cutch, and the south coast of Cutch is still called Kantha.

<sup>3</sup> Monoglosson is Mangrol, a port on the south-west coast of the Kathiawar Peninsula.

<sup>4</sup> Mophis is the river Mahi.

<sup>5</sup> Goaris may denote the Godavari.

<sup>6</sup> 'Pseudostomos' means false mouth. The Dravidian literature has *alemukham* (Sanskrit *Alikamukham*).

<sup>7</sup> Elaugkon is Quilon, also written as Kulam. Melkynda is evidently the same as Nelcynda of the *Periplus*.

<sup>8</sup> Cape Kory was the promontory in the island of Ramesvaram, which was also called Kory.

<sup>9</sup> Nikama is probably Nagapatam.

<sup>10</sup> Khaberos is the Kaveri river, and Khabaris is probably Kaveripattam, a little to the north of Tranquebar.

<sup>11</sup> Arouarnoi probably represents Tamil Aruvalar near the mouth of the Krishna river.

<sup>12</sup> Kontakossyla is undoubtedly the same as Kantakasela (or Kantakasola), mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda Inscription dated in the 14th year of the Ikshvaku king Virapurisadata, which has been identified with the town of Ghantasala, between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishna. Ptolemy's Koddoura is undoubtedly represented by this Guduru.

<sup>16</sup> S. Levi has shown that Paloura was the famous city of Dantapura, near Chicacole (*Journal Asiatique*, 1925, pp. 46-57).

<sup>17</sup> The river Dosaron is evidently the river in ancient Dasarna mentioned in the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa and referred to in the *Periplus* as Dosarene. It is still known as the Dasan river.

<sup>18</sup> The Kambyson mouth may represent the river Kamsai (old name Kapisa) on the banks of which stands the city of Midnapore in Bengal. It is however generally identified with the Hooghly river which flows by Calcutta.

<sup>21</sup> Quindion is, of course, Vindhya.

<sup>22</sup> S. N. Majumdar has traced the original Sanskrit form of Bettigo to the mountain called Betta in a Sanskrit Ayurvedic work (*Ptolemy*, p. 356).

<sup>24</sup> Ouxenton seems to represent Rikshavat, a mountain range mentioned in the Puranas.

<sup>25</sup> The Oroudian mountain is taken by Yule to represent Vaidurya and identified with the northern section of the Western Ghats. It is more likely that Oroudian represents Arvuda or Mount Abu.

<sup>26</sup> The six rivers undoubtedly represent the Kopphen or Kabul river, the Svastu or Swat, Indus or Sindhu, Hydaspes or Jhelum, Chandrabhaga or Chenab, Hydraotes or Iravati (Ravi), and the Bipasa or Beas.

<sup>27</sup> Zaradros is, of course, Satadru or Sutlej.

<sup>28</sup> The Diamouma and the Sarabos are the Yamuna and the Saraju (Ghogra).

<sup>29</sup> The Soa is probably the Son river.

<sup>31</sup> The Namados is the Narmada.

<sup>42</sup> The Lambatai were the Lampakas or the people of Lamghan, and the Daradrai represent the Darads who inhabited the country still called Dardistan. Kylinndrine probably represents the Kulindas or Kunindas, the distribution of whose coins suggests that the tribe occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills and the adjacent region. For the history of the Kunindas, c.f., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 161. Goryaia is evidently the valley of the Gouraios, an affluent of the Kabul river.

<sup>43</sup> Nagara is probably Nagarahara or Jelalabad.

<sup>45</sup> Taxiala is a variant of the form Taxila, generally used by Classical writers to denote the famous city of Takshasila. Arsa is evidently Sanskrit Urasa, the Arsaces of Alexander's historians.

<sup>46</sup> The reference to the country of the Pandououi indicates that a portion of the Panjab was still known as the Pandu country, named after the Pandavas, and this name was transferred to the Pandya country in the south. Sagala is Sialkot and figures prominently in the narratives of Alexander's expedition in India (see above, pp. 48-50). Its alternative name Euthymedia was usually emended to Euthydemia, and associated with the Bactrian Greek king Euthydemus. But this view has been opposed by W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 247-8, 486-7). For Boukephala, see above, p. 43.

<sup>48</sup> Labokla has been identified with Lahore, but S. N. Majumdar says that this is impossible according to the data supplied by the *Ramayana* (*Ptolemy*, pp. 366-7).

<sup>49</sup> Indabara has been taken to represent Indraprastha, the ancient capital of the Pandavas, whose ruins lie near New Delhi.

<sup>53</sup> The Prasiake is the same as the Prasii who figure prominently in the narratives of Alexander's invasion of India; see above p. 128. Adisadra is undoubtedly the ancient city of Ahichhatra, whose ruins lie near Aouna in the Bareilly District, U.P. Kanagora has been emended to Kanagoza and identified with Kanyakubja or Kanauj.

<sup>57</sup> Embolima, on the bank of the Indus, about 60 miles above Attock, is now represented by the two adjacent ruined sites, known as Amb and Balimah.

<sup>58</sup> Sousikana has been emended to Musikana, the royal city of Musikanos (see above, p. 76).

<sup>61</sup> Naagramma has been identified with Nowshera, as both mean "new town". Kamigara has been identified with Aror, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Sindh, whose ruins are still known to the local people as Kaman. By adding the affix *nagar* we have a near approach to Kamigara.

<sup>62</sup> Tiastenes, whose capital was Oozeue or Ujjayini, is undoubtedly the same as the Saka Satrap Chashtana, well-known in Indian history as the founder of the Western Kshatrapa Dynasty. Nasika is, of course, modern Nasik.

<sup>63</sup> The Pouliindai are undoubtedly the Pulindas and the Khatriaiioi probably represent the Cathacans (above, p. 47).

<sup>64</sup> The Tabasoi, according to S. N. Majumdar, are the Tapasas mentioned in the Vayu and Kurma Puranas (*Ptolemy*, p. 375). He also identifies the Rhanuai with the Ramakas of the *Mahabharata* (Sabhaparva, IX, 374).

<sup>65</sup> The Ambasai are the Ambashthas of Sanskrit literature. The Phyllitai and the Kandaloï have been taken by some to denote the Bhils and Gonds.

<sup>66</sup> Sora may be the same as Choda or Chola of South India.

<sup>67</sup> The Porouaroi have been taken by some to be the Pauravas, mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas.

<sup>68</sup> The Mandalai was probably the country round the modern town of Mandala, about 50 miles south-east of Jabbalpur.

<sup>69</sup> Palimbothra is Pataliputra or Patna, and Tamalites stands for Tamralipti, the famous ancient sea-port of Bengal, now called Tamluk (Midnapur District). Sambalaka has been identified with Sambalpur.

<sup>70</sup> According to S. N. Majumdar the 'Brakhmanai Magoi' refers to the Maga Brahmanas (*Ptolemy*, pp. 319, 381).

<sup>71</sup> The Salakenoi no doubt stands for the Salankayanas (c.f., D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, Chapter IV). They lived between the Godavari and Krishna deltas.

<sup>72</sup> The Sabarai denote the Sabaras.

<sup>73</sup> For the Gangaridai, see above, p. 128.

<sup>74</sup> Baithana is the same as Paethana of the *Periplus* and Siro Polemaios is Sri Pulumayi, the Satavahana king, whose capital city was Paithan on the Godavari. Paithan is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Pratisthana.

<sup>75</sup> Balcokouros may be reasonably conjectured to be the same as Vili-vayakura who is known from coins to have ruled over the Kolhapur region. Opinions, however, widely differ regarding the identification of this ruler. Cf., R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan* (3rd edition), p. 35; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 210-11; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 314-5.

Modogoulla has been identified with Mudgal in Raichur District, Mysore. Banauasci is undoubtedly Banavasi, capital of Kuntala, in Canara. Banauasci obviously represents Vanavasi of Indian literature.

<sup>76</sup> Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros, is generally identified with Karur, in the Coimbatore District, which is mentioned in the Tamil literature as the ancient capital of the Chera or Keralaputras. Pounnata is probably the same as Punnada of South Indian inscriptions, which denoted a part of Mysore.

<sup>77</sup> Morounda has been reasonably identified with Murunda, found in the dynastic lists of the Puranas. The Murundas ruled in the Gangetic valley. S. Levi has collected all available information on the Murundas in *Melanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 176-85. Cf., also *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* by J. Allan, p. xxix.

<sup>78</sup> Sornagos evidently refers to the Chola (also called Choda and Sora). The royal city Orthoura is undoubtedly Uraiyur, a few miles south-south-west of Trichinopoly (see footnote of para 68).

<sup>79</sup> Pityndra, the metropolis, has been identified by S. Levi with Pihunda of the Jaina *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* and Pithunda of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (*Indian Antiquary*, 1926, p. 145), and Dr. D. C. Sircar regards it as the capital city of the Brihatphalayana dynasty who ruled in the Masulipatam region (*The Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 48).

## X. Apollonius of Tyana.

All that is known of the visit of Apollonius to India is derived from his biography written by Philostratus. According to this biography, Apollonius was born about the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana, in Cappadocia (Asia Minor). Early in life he became a staunch follower of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy, and rigidly observed the monastic rules ascribed to Pythagorus. He renounced wine, animal food, and the married life; never used shoes or any dress made of animal skin; did not cut hair or beard, and condemned the sacrifice of animal to gods. He observed complete silence for five years, though he toured in various parts of Asia Minor during this period. He preached rigid asceticism, condemned dancing and other merriments and carried no money, having distributed his patrimony among his brother and other relations. He acquired great reputation for sanctity and it is said that the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus set up a statue of Apollonius, along with those of Alexander, Christ and a few others, in his private shrine, in place of images of gods. Apollonius travelled widely, and visited Persia, India, Egypt, and Italy. Temples and shrines were erected in his honour in various parts of Asia Minor and he was held up as a rival to Jesus Christ by the opponents of Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, was born in the island of Lemnos about A.D. 172. He was a reputed sophist and became a distinguished member of the salon of the Empress Julia Domna, a great patron of philosophers and literary men, and the wife of the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). "Realizing the need of finding a historical figure fitted to counter the propaganda of subversive gospels, she sought particularly to revive the memory of a hero of pagan hagiology, Apollonius of Tyana."<sup>2</sup> For, chancing to come upon the memoirs of Damis, a Babylonian and companion of Apollonius in his Indian travels, which gave a detailed account of that sage, she was very much impressed by the favourable light in which the character of Apollonius was presented. The Empress entrusted the memoirs of Damis to Philostratus, with a request to write the life of Apollonius. Besides the memoirs of Damis Philostratus utilised an account of the career of Apollonius at Aegae written by Maximus and also many letters of Apollonius which were then in circulation. The Empress, however, did not live to see the book which was published in or some time after A.D. 217<sup>3</sup>.

Various opinions have been expressed by modern scholars about the value and authenticity of the memoirs of Damis, which formed the basis of the work of Philostratus.<sup>4</sup> Professor Bigg, writing in 1910, argued that the so-called memoirs of Damis never really existed and that Damis was really invented by Philostratus. Others have taken a more liberal view. They admit the existence of the memoirs of Davis, but regard him as an "arrant story-teller" who reproduced old popular stories and passed them on as witnessed by him.<sup>5</sup> In any case there is little doubt that not much reliance can be placed on anything mentioned in the work of Philostratus so long as it is not corroborated by independent sources.

The biography of Apollonius by Philostratus was first translated into English in 1811, by E. Berwick. Another translation with the original Greek text by F. C. Conybeare was published in 1912 and reprinted in 1917 and 1927.<sup>6</sup> The book is divided into eight parts of which the second and third deal with his visit to India. A very brief account of it, in English, was given by McCrindle,<sup>7</sup> while an extensive summary, with a short introductory note, and a short commentary at the end, in English, by Osmond De Beauvoir Priaux, was published in 1873.<sup>8</sup> This is reproduced below.

# INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA, By PRIAULX.

## I. Introduction.

Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanensis, has given an account of that philosopher's visit to India. And as he professes to have drawn his materials from the note-book of Damis, Apollonius's fellow-traveller and friend, as moreover he professes to have edited that note-book much as Hawkesworth edited the journals of Cook, we may fairly assume that he has given an original and authentic account of India—and indeed the only one that has come down to us from the olden world in a complete state. Again, as Apollonius was the only Greek who up to his time had visited India for other purposes than those of war, negotiation, or commerce; as he visited it to make himself acquainted with its rites, discipline, and doctrines, and as he travelled unencumbered by a retinue, and was welcomed by its kings, and was with Damis for four months the guest of its Brahmins; he and Damis with him had every opportunity of familiar intercourse with all classes of its population, and of thus acquiring much and accurate information on matters beyond the reach of ordinary travellers. Philostratus's account then is full of promise; and I propose to give a condensed translation of it, and afterwards to examine into its authority and value.

## II. Summary of Philostratus's book.

Towards the close of the first half century of our era, Apollonius, then upwards of forty years of age and resident at Antioch, set out to visit India, its Brahmins and Sramans, taking with him two family slaves to act apparently as his secretaries. At Nineveh he met with and was joined by Damis, a native of the place, who recommended himself to his notice by a practical knowledge of the road to Babylon, and an acquaintance with the Persian, Armenian and Cadusian languages. Together they journey on to Babylon, but warned by a dream first turn aside to visit Sissia and those Eretrians, whom Darius five hundred years before had settled there, and whom they find still speaking Greek, and still as they heard using Greek letters, and still dwelling near that wondrous petroleum well so carefully described by Herodotus.

After a stay at Babylon of eighteen months, Apollonius, his friend and attendants, in the beginning of summer proceed for India on camels and with a guide furnished by the Parthian king Bardanes. Of their route we know only that it lay through a rich and pleasant country, and that the villages they traversed hurried to do them honour and to supply their wants; for a gold plate on their leading camel announced them guests of the king. We then hear of them enjoying the perfumed air at the foot of Caucasus, the mountain range which, while it separates India from Media, extends by one of its branches to the Red Sea. Of this Caucasus, they heard from the barbarians myths like those of the Greek. They were told of Prometheus and Hercules, not the Theban, and of the eagle; some pointed to a cavern, others to the mountain's two peaks, a stadium apart, as the place where Prometheus was bound; and his chains, though of what made it is not easy to guess, still hung, Damis says, from the rocks. His memory too is still dear to the mountaineers, who for his sake still pursue the eagle with hate; and now lay snares for it, and now with fiery javelins destroy its nest. On the mountain they find the people already inclined to black, and the men four cubits high: on the other side of the Indus the men reached five cubits. On their way to the river, as they were going along in the bright moonshine, they fell in with an Empusa, who now in this form now in that followed after them; until Apollonius, and at his instigation his companions, attacked it with scoffs and jeers, the only safeguard against it, and it fled away jabbering.

As they approached the summit of the mountain,—the dwelling of the Gods as their guide told them,—they found the road so steep that they were obliged to go on foot. On the other side, in the country between Caucasus and the Cophen, they met men riding on elephants, but they were only elephant herdsmen; others on dromedaries, which can run 1000 stadia in a day without rest. Here an Indian on a dromedary rode up to them and asked their guide whither they were going; and when he was told the object of their journey he told it again to the herdsmen, who shouted for joy, called to them to come near, and gave them wine and honey, both got from the palm; and also slices of lion and panther flesh just killed. They accepted everything but the flesh, and rode onward in an easterly direction.

At a fountain they sat down to dine; and, in the course of conversation, Apollonius observed that they had met many Indians

singing, dancing, and rolling about drunk with palm wine: and that the Indian money was of orichalcum and bronze—purely Indian, and not stamped like the Roman and Median coins.

They crossed the Cophen, here not very broad or deep, themselves in boats, their camels on foot, and now entered a country subject to a king. Here they saw Mount Nysa; it rises up to a peak, like Tmolus in Lydia. It is cultivated, and its ascent has thus been made practicable. On its summit they found a moderate sized temple of Bacchus; this temple was a circular plot of ground, enclosed by a hedgerow of laurels, vines, and ivy, all of which had been planted by Bacchus himself, and had so grown and intertwined their branches together as to form a roof and walls impervious to the wind and rain. In the interior Bacchus had placed his own statue—in form an Indian youth, but of white stone. About and around it lay crooked knives, baskets and wine-vats in gold and silver, as if ready for the vintage. Aye, and the cities at the foot of the mountain hear and join in his orgies, and Nysa itself quakes with them.

About Bacchus, Philostratus goes on to say whether speaking in his own person or from the journal of Damis I know not—Greeks and Hindus are not agreed; for the former assert that the Theban Bacchus with his bacchanals conquered and overran India, and they cite, among other proofs, a discus of Indian silver in the treasury at Delphi, with this inscription: "Bacchus, Jove and Semele's son, from India to the Delphian Apollo". But of the latter, the Indians of the Caucasus believe that he was an Assyrian stranger, not unacquainted however with him of Thebes; while those of the Indus and Ganges declare that he was the son of the Indus, and that the Theban Bacchus was his disciple and imitator, though he called himself the son of Jove, and pretended to have been born of Jove's thigh, Meros, a mountain near to Nysa. They add, that in honour of his Indian prototype, he planted Nysa with vines brought from Thebes, and on Nysa the Greek historians assert that Alexander celebrated the Bacchic orgies, but the mountaineers will have it that Alexander, notwithstanding his love of glory and of antiquity, never ascended the mountain, but satisfied himself with prayer and sacrifice at its foot. He so feared lest the sight of the vines should raise in his soldiers, long accustomed to water, a longing for wine and the ease and pleasures of home.

The rock Aornus, though at no great distance from Nysa,

Damis says they did not visit, as it was somewhat out of their way. He heard however that it had been taken by Alexander, and was fifteen stadia in height; and that it was called Aornus, not because no bird could fly over it, but because there was a chasm on its summit which drew down to it all birds, much like the Parthenon at Athens, and several places in Phrygia and Lydia.

On their way to the Indus, they fell in with a lad about thirteen years old riding an elephant and urging him on with a crooked rod, which he thrust into him like an anchor. On the Indus itself they watched a herd of about thirty elephants whom some huntsmen were pursuing. Apollonius admired the sagacity the elephants displayed in crossing the river; the smallest and lightest led the way, the mothers followed holding up their cubs with their tusks and trunks, while the largest brought up the rear. He spoke of their docility; their love for their keeper, how they would eat out of his hand like dogs, coax him with their trunks, and as he had seen among the nomads, open wide their mouths for him to thrust his head down their throats. He told too, how during the night they would bewail their slavery, not with their usual roar, but with piteous moans; and how, out of respect for man, they would at his approach stay their wailing; and he referred their docility and ready obedience more to their own self-command and tractable nature, than to the skill or power of their guide and rider. From the people they heard that elephants were found in the marsh, the mountain, and the plain. According to the Indians, the marsh elephant is stupid and idle, its teeth are few and black, and often porous or knotted, and will not bear the knife. The mountain elephants are treacherous and malignant, and save for their own ends, little attached to man; their teeth are small, but tolerably white, and not hard to work. The elephants of the plain are useful animals, tractable and imitative; they may be taught to write, and to dance and jump to the sound of the pipe, their teeth are very long and white and may be easily cut to any shapes. The Indians use the elephant in war; they fight from it in turrets, large enough for ten or fifteen archers or spearmen; and they say that it will itself join in the fight, holding and throwing the spear with its trunk as with a hand. The Indian elephant is of a large size, as much larger than the Lybian as this than the Nisaeon horse. It lives to a great age, and Apollonius saw one in Taxila which had fought



against Alexander about three hundred and fifty years before, and which Alexander had honoured with the name of Ajaz. On its tusks were golden bracelets with this inscription: "Ajax to the sun, from Alexander, the son of Jove". The people were accustomed to anoint it with unguents, and ornament it with garlands.

When about to cross the Indus, their Babylonian guide, who was unacquainted with the river, presented to the Satrap of the Indus a letter from Bardanes. And the Satrap, out of regard to the king, though no officer of his, supplied them with his own barge for themselves, boats for their camels, and a guide to the Hydraotis. He also wrote to his sovereign to beg him that in his treatment of this Greek and truly divine man, he would emulate the generosity of Bardanes.

Where they crossed, the Indus was forty stadia in breadth. It takes its rise in the Caucasus, and from its very fountain, is larger than any other river in Asia. In its course it receives many navigable rivers. Like the Nile it overflows the country, and deposits a fertilizing mud, which as in Egypt, prepares the land for the husbandman. It abounds, like the Nile, with sea-horses and crocodiles, as they themselves witnessed in crossing it and it produces, too, the same flowers. In India the winter is warm, the summer stifling; but the heat, providentially, is moderated by frequent rains. The natives told him, that when the season for the rise of the river is at hand, the king sacrifices on its banks black bulls and horses (black among them, because of their complexion, being the nobler colour), and after the sacrifice throws into the river a gold measure like a corn measure—why, the people themselves knew not; but probably as Apollonius conjectured, for an abundant harvest, or for such a moderate rise of the river as would benefit the land.

The Indus passed, their new guide led them straight to Taxila, where was the palace of the Indian king. The people here wore cotton, the produce of the country, and sandals made of the fibre or bark of the papyrus and a leather cap when it rained. The better classes were clad in byssus, a stuff with which Apollonius, who affected a sombre colour in his dress, was much pleased. This byssus grows on a tree like the poplar in its stem, but with leaves like the willow; it is exported into Egypt for sacred uses.

Taxila was about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek

city, and was the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. Just outside the walls was a temple of near a hundred feet, of porphyry, and in it a shrine, small considering the size of the temple and its many columns, but still very beautiful. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets, representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and armours were portrayed in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxydised copper, the spears, javelins, and swords in iron; but the several metals were all worked into one another with so nice a gradation of tints, that the pictures they formed, in corrections of drawing, vivacity of expression, and truthfulness of perspective, reminded one of the productions of Zeuxis, Polygnotus and Euphranor. They told too of the noble character of Porus, for it was not till after the death of Alexander that he placed them in the temple and this, though they represented Alexander as a conqueror, and himself as conquered and wounded, and receiving from Alexander the kingdom of India.

In this temple they wait until the king can be apprised of their arrival. Apollonius whiles away the time with a conversation upon painting, in the course of which he remarks that colour is not necessary to a picture; that an Indian drawn in chalk would be known as an Indian and black of colour, by his somewhat flat nose, his crisp hair, his large jaws, and wild eyes. While they are thus talking, a messenger and interpreter arrive from the king, with a permit for them to enter the city, and to stay in it three days, beyond which time no strangers are allowed in Taxila.

They are taken to the palace. They found the city divided by narrow streets, well-arranged and reminding them of Athens. From the streets, the houses seemed of only one storey, but they all had an underground floor. They saw the Temple of the Sun, and in it statues of Alexander and Porus, the one gold, and the other of bronze; its walls were of red marble, but glittering with gold; the image of the god was of pearls, having, as is usual with the barbarians in sacred things, a symbolical meaning.

The palace was distinguished by no extraordinary magnificence, and was just like the house of any citizen of the better class. There were no sentinels or bodyguards and but few servants about, and perhaps three or four persons who were waiting to talk with the king. The same simplicity was observable in the courts, halls, waiting and inner rooms; and it pleased Apollonius more than

all the pomp of Babylon. When admitted to the king's presence, Apollonius, through the interpreter, addressed the king as a philosopher, and complimented him on his moderation. The king, Phraotes, in answer, said that he was moderate because his wants were few, and that as he was wealthy, he employed his wealth in doing good to his friends and in subsidizing the barbarians, his neighbours, to prevent them from themselves ravaging, or allowing other barbarians to ravage his territories. Here one of his courtiers offered to crown him with a jewelled mitre, but he refused it, as well because all pomp was hateful to him as because of Apollonius's presence.

Apollonius inquired into his mode of life. The king told him that he drank but little wine, as much as he usually poured out in libation to the sun; that he hunted for exercise and gave away what he killed; that, for himself, he lived on vegetables and herbs, and the head and fruit of the palm, and other fruits which he cultivated with his own hands. With this account of his kingly tastes and occupations Apollonius was delighted, and he frequently looked at Damis. They now talked together a long time about the road to the Brahmins; and when they had done, the king ordered the Babylonian guide to be treated with the hospitality went to be shown to travellers from Babylon, and the satrap guide to be sent back home with the usual travelling allowance. Then taking Apollonius by the hand, and ordering the interpreter to leave them, Phraotes asked him, in Greek, to receive him, the king, as a table companion. Apollonius, surprised, inquired why he had not spoken Greek from the first. "Because", answered the king, "I would not seem bold, or to forget that I am, after all, only a barbarian; but your kindness, and the pleasure you take in my conversation, have got the better of me, and I can no longer conceal myself from you. And how I became thus acquainted with Greek I will presently show you at large". "But why", again asked Apollonius, "instead of inviting me, did you beg me to invite you to dinner?" "Because", said the king, "I look on you as the better man; for wisdom is above royalty. So saying, he led him to the place where he was accustomed to bathe. This was a garden, about a stadium long, with a swimming bath of cold running water in the middle of it, and on each side an exercising ground. Here he practised the discus and the javelin, Greek fashion, and then, when tired, jumped into the water, and exercised himself with swimming. After the bath they went to dinner,

crowned with garlands, as is usual with the Indians when they feast in the king's palace.

Of the dinner Damis has given a detailed account. The king, and about five of his family with him, lay on a low couch; the other guests sat on stools. The table was like an altar, about as high as a man's knee; it was in the middle of the room, and as large as would be a circle formed by thirty people with joined hands standing up to dance. It was strewn over with laurel, and a sort of myrtle from which the Indians prepare their unguents, and was set out with fish and birds, the carcasses of lions and goats and sows, and with tiger loins—the only part of the tiger they eat, and this because they suppose that at its birth it raises its forepaws to the rising sun. Each guest, as he wanted anything, got up and went to the table; and taking a bit of this, cutting off a slice of that, he returned to his seat and ate his fill, always eating bread with his meat. When they had had enough, gold and silver bowls, each one large enough for ten guests, were brought in, and from these they drank, stooping down like cattle. In the meanwhile, they were amused by various feats which required no little skill and courage: a javelin was thrown upward, and at the same time a boy leaped at it and tumbled head over heels while in the air, but in such a way that he passed over the javelin as it fell, and with the certainty of being wounded if he did not properly time his somersault; indeed the weapon was carried round, and the guests tested its sharpness. One man also was so good a marksman, that he set up his own son against a board, and then threw his darts, so aiming them that, fixed in the board, they traced out his son's outline.

Damis and the others were much amused with these entertainments; but Apollonius, who was at the king's table, paid little attention to them; and, turning to the king, asked him, how he came to know Greek, and where he acquired his philosophy. The king, smiling, answered: "In old times when a ship put into port, the people used to ask its crew if they were pirates, piracy was then so common. But now, though philosophy is God's most precious gift to man, the first question you Greeks put to a stranger, even of the lowest rabble, is 'Are you a philosopher?' And in very truth with you Greeks, I speak not of you Apollonius, philosophy is much the same as piracy, for to the many who profess it, it is like an ill-fitting garment which they have stolen, and in which they strut about awkwardly, trailing it on the ground. And

like thieves, on whom the fear of justice presses, they hurry to enjoy the present hour, and give themselves up to gluttony, debauchery, and effminacy; and no wonder, for while your laws punish coiners of bad money, they take no cognizance of the authors and utterers of a false philosophy. Here, on the other hand, philosophy is a high honour, and before we allow any one to study it, we first send him to the home of the Brahmans, who inquire into his character and parentage. He must shew that his progenitors, for three generations, have been without stain or reproach, and that he himself is of pure morals and of a retentive intellect. The character of his progenitors", the king went on to say, "if of living men, was ascertained from witnesses; and if of dead, was known from the public records. For when an Indian died, a legally appointed officer repaired to his house, and inquired into, and set down in writing, his mode of life, and exactly, under the penalty of being declared incapable of holding any public office. As to the youth himself, they judged him worthy or otherwise from his eyes, eyebrows, and cheeks which, as in a mirror reflect the mind and disposition".

The king then told how his father, the son of a king, had been left very young an orphan; and how during his minority two of his relatives according to Indian custom acted as regents, but with so little regard to law, that some nobles conspired against them, and slew them as they were sacrificing to the Indus, and seized upon the government;—how on this his father, then sixteen years of age, fled to the king beyond the Hydaspes, a greater king than himself, who received him kindly, and offered either to adopt him, or to replace him on his throne; and how declining this offer, he requested to be sent to the Brahmans; and how the Brahmans educated him; and how, in time he married the daughter of the Hydaspian king, and received with her seven villages as pin-money and had issue one son,—himself, Phraotes. Phraotes told of himself that he was brought up by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve; that he was then sent to the Brahmans, and treated by them as a son, for "they especially love", he observed, "those who know and speak Greek, as akin to them in mind and disposition", that his parents died; and that in his nineteenth year, just as, by the advice of the Brahmans, he was beginning to take into his own hands the management of his estates, he was deprived of them by the king, his uncle, and was then supported with four servants by willing contributions from his mother's freedmen. As

however he is one day reading the Heraclidæ, he hears from a friend of his father's, that if he will return home, he may recover his family kingdom, but he must be quick. The tragedy he was reading he accepts as an omen; and he goes on to say:—"When I crossed the Hydraotis, I heard that, of the usurpers, one was already dead, and the other besieged in this very palace; so I hurried on, proclaiming to the villages I passed through who I was, and what were my rights; and the people received me gladly; and declaring I was the very picture of my father and grandfather, they accompanied me, many of them armed with swords and bows, and our numbers increased daily; and when we reached this city, the inhabitants, with torches lit at the altar of the Sun, and singing the praises of my father and grandfather, came out and welcomed me, and brought me hither. But the drone within they walled up, though I begged them not to kill him in that way.

Apollonius then enquired whether the Sophoi of Alexander and these Brahmans were the same people. The king told him they were not; that Alexander's Sophoi were the Oxydracæ, a free and warlike race, but rather dabblers in philosophy than philosophers, that the Brahman country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges; and that Alexander never invaded it—not through fear, but dissuaded by the appearance of the sacrificial victims. "And though", said Phraotes, he might, it is true, have crossed the Hyphasis and occupied the neighbouring lands, yet the stronghold of the Brahmans he never could have taken—no, not though every man in his army had been an Ajax or an Achilles. For these sacred and god-loved men would have driven him back—not with human weapons, but with thunders and lightnings, and tempests, as they had routed the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus, who thought with united arms to have stormed their fort; and so routed them, that Hercules it is said threw away his golden shield, which, because of its owner's renown and its own embossments, they then set up as an offering in their temple.

While they were thus conversing, music and song were introduced, on which Apollonius enquired what the festal procession meant. The king explained to him that it was usual with the Indians to sing to the king, before he retired to rest, songs of good counsel wishing him good dreams, and that he may rise in the morning a good man and a wise counsellor for his people. And so talking, they went to bed. The next morning, Apollonius discourses upon sleep and dreams, and the king displays his knowledge

of Greek legends. They then separate, the king to transact the business of his kingdom and to decide some lawsuits—Apollonius to offer his prayers to the Sun. When they again meet, the king tells Apollonius that the state of the victims had not permitted the Court to sit on that day, and he lays before him a case in dispute—one of treasure-trove and in land which has just changed hands, the buyer and seller both claiming the treasure. The king is in much perplexity, and states the pleas on both sides; and the suit might have been drawn out to the same length, and become as celebrated as that of the ass and the shadow at Abdera, had not Apollonius come to his assistance. He inquires into the life and character of the litigants; finds that the seller is a bad, and the purchaser a good man; and on the last therefore awards the treasure.

When the three days of their sojourn expired, and the king learns that their camels from Babylon are worn out, he orders that of his white camels, on the Indus, four shall be sent to Bardanes, and four others given to Apollonius, together with provisions and a guide to the Brahmins. He offers him besides gold and jewels and linen garments; the gold Apollonius refuses, but he accepts the linen garments because they are like the old genuine Attic cloak, and he picks out besides one jewel, because of its mystic and divine properties. He receives also a letter for Iarchas, to this effect :—"The king Phraotes to the Master Iarchas and the wise men with him, greeting: Apollonius, a very wise man, thinks you wiser than himself and has travelled hither to learn your doctrine. Send him back knowing all you know. Your lessons will not be lost, for he speaks better, and has a better memory than any man I ever knew. Shew him, Father Iarchas, the throne on which I sat when you gave me the kingdom. His followers are worthy of all praise, if only for submitting to such a man. Farewell".

They leave Taxila, and after two days' journey reach the plain, where Porus is said to have encountered Alexander. There they saw a triumphal arch serving as a pediment to a statue of Alexander in a four-horse chariot, as he appeared on the Issus. A little farther on, they came upon two other arches on one of which was Alexander; on the other Porus—the one saluting, the other in an attitude of submission.

Having passed the Hydraotis, they pursued their way through several countries to the Hyphasis. Thirty stadia from the river, they saw: the altars Alexander had built there "To Father Ammon and Brother Hercules, to the Providence Minerva and Olympian

Jove, and to the Samo-Thracian Cabiri and the Indian Sun and Brother Apollo", and also a bronze pillar with this inscription:—"Here Alexander halted". And this pillar Philostratus conjectures was raised by the Indians in joy at the return homeward of Alexander.

In reference to the Hyphasis and its marvels, we are told that it is navigable at its very source, in a plain; but that lower down alternate ridges of rock impede its course, and cause eddies which render navigation impossible. It is about as broad as the Ister, the largest of our European rivers, and the same sort of trees grow upon its banks. From these trees the people obtain an unguent with which if the marriage guests neglect to anoint the bride and bridegroom, the marriage rite is thought informal and not pleasing to Venus. To Venus indeed its groves are dedicated, as also a fish found here only, the peacock, so called from its caerulean crest, spotted scales, and golden tail, which it can open out at its pleasure. In this river is also found a sort of white worm, the property of the king, which is melted into an oil so inflammable, that nothing but glass will hold it. This oil is used in sieges, and when thrown on the battlements it burns so fiercely, that its fire, so far as yet known, is inextinguishable.

In the marshes they catch wild asses with a horn on their foreheads, with which they fight, bull-fashion. From this horn is made a cup of such virtue that if any one drinks out of it, he need for that day fear no sickness, nor wounds, nor fire, nor poison. It belongs to the king, who also reserves to himself the right of hunting the ass. Apollonius saw the animal, and admired it; but when Damis asked him if he could believe all that was said of the virtue of the cup, he answered, "Yes, when I see any Indian king immortal".

Here they met with a woman black to her breasts, white from her breasts downwards. She was sacred to the Indian Venus, and to this goddess piebald women are sacred from their birth, as to Apis among the Egyptians. Here they crossed that spur of the Caucasus which stretches down towards the Red Sea; it was full of all sorts of aromatic plants. The headlands produced cinnamon, a shrub very like a young vine and so grateful to goats, that if you hold it in your hands they will follow you and whine after you like dogs. On the cliffs grow the tall, and all other sorts of, frankincense, and pepper trees. The pepper tree resembles the *agnos* both in its leaves and the clustered form of its fruit.



It grows on precipices inaccessible to man, but frequented by apes, which, as they gather for them the pepper fruit, the Indians make much of and protect with arms and dogs against the lion; for the lion will lie in wait for the ape, and eat its flesh as medicine when he is sick, and as food when he is old and no longer able to hunt the stag and wild boar. The pepper harvest is gathered in this way:—Directly under the cliffs where the peppers grow, the people dig small trenches into which they throw as something worthless the fruit of the neighbouring trees. The monkeys from the heights watch them, and as soon as it is night, begin like them to tear the clustered fruits from the pepper, and like them to fling it into the trenches. In the morning the people come back and carry off the pepper, which they thus obtain without any labour.

On the other side of the mountain was a large plain—the largest in India, being fifteen days' journey to the Ganges, and eighteen days' to the Red Sea. It was interested with dykes running in different directions, and communicating with the Ganges, and serving the double purpose of landmarks and canals for irrigation. The land here is the best in India, black and very productive; its wheat stalks are like reeds, and its beans three times as large as the Egyptian; its sesame and millet are also extraordinarily fine. Here, too, grow those nuts, which for their rarity and size are, as a sort of curiosity, often found in Greek temples. The grapes of the country however are small, like the Lydian and Maconian, and with an agreeable bouquet when gathered. A tree is also found here like the laurel but with a fruit like a large pomegranate, within the husk of which is an apple of the colour of a fine hyacinth, and the very best flavoured fruit they ever ate.

As they came down the mountain, they witnessed a dragon-hunt. India, its marshes, plains, and mountains, are full of dragons. Of these they tell us that the marsh-dragon is thirty cubits long, sluggish, and without a crest; the male very like the female. Its back is black, and it has fewer scales than the other kinds. Homer, when he speaks of the dragon at the fount in Aulis as of blood-red back, describes the marsh-dragon better than the other poets, who make the Nemaean dragon crested; for crested you will hardly find any marsh-dragon.

The plain and hill-dragons are superior to, and larger than, the marsh kind. They move along more swiftly than the swiftest rivers, and nothing can escape them. They are crested; and though in the young the crest is small, when they are full-grown, it

risers to a great height. They are of a fiery colour, with serrated backs, and bearded; their necks are erect, and their scales shine like silver. The pupils of their eyes are a fiery stone of wonderful and mystic properties. They are hunted for the sake of their eyes, skin, and teeth. A dragon of this kind will sometimes attack an elephant; both then perish and are a "find" for the huntsmen. They resemble largest fish, but are more lithe and active; their teeth are hard as those of the whale.

The mountain-dragons are larger than those of the plain, and with a fiercer look; their scales are golden, their beard too, which hangs in clusters; they glide on the earth with a sound as of brass; their fiery crests throw out a light brighter than that of a torch. They overpower the elephant, but become themselves the prey of the Indian. They are killed in this fashion. The Indians spread out before the serpent's hiding-place a scarlet carpet entwined with golden characters, upon which, should the dragon chance to rest his head, he is charmed to sleep. They then, with incantations, call him out of his hole; and if everything goes well—for often he gets the better of them and their "gramary"—as soon as with outstretched neck he is lulled in magic sleep, they rush on him with hatchets and cut off his head, and extract from it bright-coloured stones, flashing with every hue, and of powers wonderful as those of Gyges' ring. These dragons are also found in the mountains bordering on the Red Sea. They are said to live to an incredible age, but of this nothing sure is known.

At the foot of the mountain was situated Paraka, a very large city. Its inhabitants are, from their youth, trained to hunt the dragon, and it is full of their trophies—the heads of dragons. They eat the hearts and livers, and in this way, as was proved by Apollonius himself, they acquire a knowledge of the language and thoughts of animals.

Proceeding onwards, our travellers hear the sound of a shepherd's pipe, and presently see a herd of white stags grazing. The Indians keep them for their milk, which is very nourishing.

Thence, after a four days' journey through a fertile and well-cultivated country, they approached the stronghold of the Sophoi; and now their guide ordered his camel to kneel, and jumped down sweating with fear. Then Apollonius knew where they were, and laughed at the Indian and bade him again mount his camel. The fact is, the near neighbourhood of the Sophoi frightened him; and indeed, the people fear them more than the king; for the king

consults them as he would an oracle, and does nothing without their advice and concurrence.

When they had reached a village, not the eighth of a mile from the hill of the Sophoi, and were preparing to put up there, they perceived a young man running towards them. He was the very blackest Indian they had yet seen, with a bright spot, crescent-shaped, between his brows, much such a mark as Menon, the Ethiopian foster-child of the sophist Herod, had in his youth. He bore a golden anchor, which, as symbolical of holding fast, the Indians have made their caduceus.

When the messenger coming up addressed Apollonius in Greek, as the villagers also spoke Greek, his companions were not much surprised; but when he addressed Apollonius by name, they were struck with astonishment, all but Apollonius who, now full of confidence, looking at Damis, said, "The men we have come to visit are wise indeed; they know the future": and then turning to the Indian, he asked him what he should do, for he wished to converse with the Sophoi immediately. The man answered, "Leave your people here, but come you, just as you are, so they request". This "they" seemed to Apollonius quite Pythagorean, and he followed the messenger rejoicing.

The hill of the Sophoi rose sheer up from the plain, and was about as high as the Acropolis at Athens. It was besides fortified by a goodly belt of rock, on which you might trace the impressions of hoofs, and beards, and faces, and what seemed the backs of falling men. And they heard that when Bacchus and Hercules attempted the place, Bacchus ordered his Pans, as able to shake it to its foundation, to storm it: but thunder-struck by the Sophoi, they fell headlong one upon the other and so left these marks upon the stones. They said also, that about and around this hill a cloud hung within which the Sophoi dwelt visible and invisible at will, and that their stronghold was without gates, so that it could not be called either enclosed or open.

Apollonius and his guide ascended the hill on the south side. He saw a well some twenty-four feet about. Over its mouth hung a dark vapour which rose as the heat of the day increased and at noon gave out all the colours of the rainbow. He was told that here the subsoil was cinnabar and that the water of the well was sacred, and never used, and that all the neighbourhood swore by it. Near this place was a crater, which threw out a lead-coloured flame without smell or smoke, and

which bubbled up with a volcanic matter that rose to its brim, but never overflowed: here the Indians purified themselves from all involuntary sins. The well, the Sophoi called the well of the test; the crater, the fire of pardon. Here were also seen two vessels of black stone—the urns of the winds and of the rain, and the one or the other is opened or shut just as wind or rain is wanted or otherwise. Here too they found statues of the most ancient Greek gods, and worshipped in the Greek manner; of the Polian Minerva, and of Bacchus, and of the Delian and Amyclaeon Apollo. The Sophoi look upon their stronghold as the very navel of India. They here worship fire obtained from the sun's rays, and at noon daily hymn its praise.

Apollonius, in an address to the Egyptians, somewhat enigmatically describes the life of the Sophoi:—"I have seen", he says, "Brahmans who dwell on the earth, and yet not on the earth; in places fortified, and yet without walls; and who possess nothing, and yet all things". According to Damis they used the earth as a couch, but first strewed it with choice grasses: they walked too the air—Damis himself saw them—and this not to excite wonder—all ostentation is abhorrent to their nature,—but in imitation of and as a more fitting service to the sun. He saw too the fire which they drew down from the sun's rays,—and which though it flamed on no altar and was confined by no hearth, took shape and body and floated in mid-air, where spite of the darkness, under the charm of their hymned praise it stayed unchanged. As in the night they worshipped this fire, so in the day they worshipped the sun and besought it to order the seasons for India's good. In this way is to be understood Apollonius's first assertion: "The Brahmans live on the earth, and yet not on the earth". His second, Damis refers to that covering of clouds which they draw over themselves at pleasure, and which no rain can penetrate. His third, to those fountains which bubble up for his Bacchanals when Bacchus shakes the earth and them, and from which the Indians themselves drink and give to others to drink. Well therefore may Apollonius say, that men, who at a moment's notice and without preparation can get whatever they want, possess nothing and yet all things. They wear their hair long, like the old Macedonians, and on their head a white mitre. They go bare-foot; and their coats have no sleeves, and are of wild cotton, of an oily nature, and white as Pamphylian wool, but softer. Of this cotton the sacred vestments are made; and

the earth refuses to give it up if any but themselves attempt to gather it. They carry a stick, and wear a ring, both of infinite and magic power.

Apollonius found the Sophoi seated on brazen stools, their chief, Iarchas, on a raised throne of bronze ornamented with golden images. They saluted him with their hands, but Iarchas welcomed him in Greek, asked him for the King's letter, and added, that it wanted a delta. As soon as he had read it, he asked Apollonius, "What do you think of us?" "Oh!" said Apollonius, "the very journey I have undertaken—and I am the first of my countrymen who has undertaken it—answers that question." "In what, then", enquired Iarchas, "do you think us wiser than you?" "I think your views wiser, more divine", answered Apollonius, "and should I find that you know no more than I, this at least I shall have learned that I have nothing more to learn". "Well", said the Indian, "other people usually ask of those who visit them, whence they come, who they are; but we, as a first proof of our knowledge, show strangers that we know them;" and so saying, he told Apollonius who his father was, who his mother, all that happened to him at Aegae, and how Damis joined him, and what they had said and done on the journey; and this so distinctly and fluently, that he might have been a companion of their route. Apollonius, greatly astonished, asked him how he knew all this. "In this knowledge," he answered, "you are not wholly wanting, and where you are deficient we will instruct you, for we think it not well to keep secret what is so worthy of being known, especially from you, Apollonius, a man of most excellent memory. And Memory, you must know, is of the Gods the one we most honour. "But how do you know my nature?" asked Apollonius. "We," he answered, "see into the very soul, tracing out its qualities by a thousand signs. But as midday is at hand, let us to our devotions, in which you also may, if you will, take part." They then adjourned to the bath, a spring like that of Dircae in Boeotia as Damis says who afterwards saw Dircae. They first took off their clothes, and then anointed their heads with an unguent which made their bodies run down with sweat, and so jumped into the water. After they had well bathed they put garlands on their heads and proceeded to the temple, intent on their hymn. There standing round in a circle with Iarchas as their leader they beat the ground with their staves, till bellying like a wave it sent them up into the air about two cubits; and then they sang a hymn, very like the

Paeon of Sophocles sung at Athens to Aesculapius. When they had again come down to the earth and had performed their sacred duties, Iarchas called the youth with the anchor, and bade him take care of Apollonius's companions; and he in a shorter space of time than the swiftest birds, was gone and was back again, and told Iarchas, "I have taken care of them".

Apollonius was then placed on the throne of Phraotes, and Iarchas bade him question them on any matter he pleased, for he was now among men who knew all things. Apollonius therefore asked, as though it was of all knowledge the most difficult, "Whether the Sophoi knew themselves?" But Iarchas answered quite contrary to his expectation, that they knew all things, because they first knew themselves. That, without this first and elementary knowledge, no one could be admitted to their philosophy. Apollonius, remembering his conversation with Phraotes and the examination they had been obliged to undergo, assented to this, more especially as he felt the truth of the observation in himself. He then asked "What opinion they held of themselves?" and was told, "that they held themselves to be gods, because, they were good men". Apollonius then enquired about the soul, and, when he heard that they held the opinions of Pythagoras, he further asked, whether, as Pythagoras remembered himself as Euphorbus, so Iarchas could speak of some one of his previous lives, either as Greek or Trojan, or other man? Iarchas, first reproving the Greeks for the reverence they pay to the Trojan heroes and to Achilles as the greatest of them, to the neglect of better men, Greek, Egyptian, and Indian, related: how years long ago he had been one Ganges, king of the Indian people, to whom the Ethiopians, then Indians, were subject: how this Ganges, ten cubits in stature and the most comely of men, built many cities and drove back the Scythians who invaded his territories: and how, though robbed of his wife by the then king of Phraotes's country, he had unlike Achilles kept sacred his alliance with him: how, too, he had rendered his father, the Ganges river, propitious to India, by inducing it to keep within its banks and to divert its course to the Red Sea: how, notwithstanding all this, the Ethiopians murdered him, and were driven by the hate of the Indians and the now sterile earth and the abortive births of their wives to leave their native land: and how, pursued by his ghost, and still suffering the same ills, they wandered from place to place, till having at length punished his murderers they settled in that part of Africa from them called

Ethiopia. He told, too, how Ganges had thrust seven adamantine swords deep into the ground in some unknown spot, and how when the gods without indicating it ordered that on that spot a sacrifice should be offered, he, then a child of four years old, immediately pointed it out. But ceasing to speak of himself, he directed Apollonius's attention to a youth of about twenty, and he described him as patient under all suffering and by nature especially fitted for philosophy, but beyond measure averse to it; and his aversion was attributed to the ill treatment and injustice he had received from Ulysses and Homer in a former life. He had been Palamedes.

While they were thus talking, a messenger announced the king's approach and that he would arrive towards evening, and came to consult with them on his private affairs. Iarchas answered that he should be welcome, and that he would leave them a better man for having known "this Greek". He then resumed his conversation with Apollonius, and asked him to tell something of his previous existence. Apollonius excuses himself, because as it was undistinguished he did not care to remember it. "But surely", observed Iarchas, "to be the pilot of an Egyptian ship is no such ignoble occupation, and a pilot I see you once were". "True", replied Apollonius, "but an office which should be on a par with that of the statesman or the general has by the fault of sailors themselves become contemptible and degraded. Besides my very best act in that life no one deemed worthy even of praise". "And what was that?" asked Iarchas. "Was it the doubling with slackened sail Malea and Sunium, or the carefully observing the course of the winds, or the carrying your ship over the reefs and swell of the Euboean coast?" "Well", said Apollonius, "if I must speak of my sailor life, I will tell you of something I did then which I think was wise and honest. In those days pirates infested the Phoenician Sea. And some of their spies knowing that my ship was richly laden came to me and sounded me, and asked me what would be my share of the freight. I told them a thousand drachmas, for we were four pilots. 'And what sort of a home have you?' they asked. 'A hut on Pharos, where Proteus used to live', I answered, 'Well', they went on, 'would you like to change the sea for land—a hut for a house—to receive ten times the pay you look for, and rid yourself at the same time of the thousand ills of the tempestuous sea?' 'Aye, that I would', I said. They then told me who they were, and

offered me ten thousand drachmas, and promised that neither myself nor any of my crew should suffer harm if I gave them an opportunity of taking my ship. So we agreed that I should set sail in the night, but lie-to under the promontory; and that the pirates, who were at anchor on the other side, should then run out and seize my ship and cargo. All this took place in a temple, and I made them swear to fulfil their promises; while I agreed on my part to do as they wished. But instead of lying to I made sail for the open sea and so got off". "And this", observed Iarchas, "you think an act of justice?" "Yes", said Apollonius, "and of humanity; for to save the lives of my men, and the property of my employers, and to be above a bribe, though a sailor, I hold to be a proof of many virtues".

Iarchas smiled, and remarked: "You, Greeks, seem to think that not to do wrong is to be just. Only the other day, an Egyptian told us of the Roman proconsuls: how, though knowing nothing of the people they were to govern, they entered their provinces with naked axes; and of the people: how they praised their governors if they only were not venal, just like slave-dealers who to vaunt their wares warrant that their Carians are not thieves! your poets too scarcely allow you to be just and good. For Minos the most cruel of men and who with his fleets enslaved the neighbouring peoples, they honour with the sceptre of justice as the judge of the dead. But Tantalus, a good man, who made his friends partakers of immortality, they deprive of food and drink". And he pointed to a statue on the left inscribed "Tantalus". It was four cubits high, and of a man of about fifty, dressed in the Argolic fashion with a Thessalian chlamys. He was drinking from a cup as large as would suffice for a thirsty man, and a pure draught bubbled up in it without overflowing.

Their conversation was here interrupted by the noise and tumult in the village occasioned by the king's arrival; and Iarchas angrily observed, "Had it been Phraotes, not the mysteries had been more quiet". Apollonius, seeing no preparations made, inquired whether they intended offering the king a banquet? "Aye, and a rich one, for we have plenty of everything here", they said, "and he is a gross feeder. But we allow no animal food, only sweetmeats, roots and fruits such as India and the season afford. But here he comes". The king, glittering with gold and jewels, now approached. Damis was not present at this interview, for he spent the whole of the day in the village, but Apollonius gave



him an account of it which he wrote in his diary. He says that the king approached with outstretched hands as a suppliant, and that the sages from their seats nodded as if granting his petition, at which he rejoiced greatly as at the oracle of a god; but of his son and brother they took no more notice than of the slaves who accompanied him. Iarchas then rose and asked him if he would eat. The king assented, and four tripods like those in Homer's Olympus rolled themselves in, followed by bronze cup-bearers. The earth strewed itself with grass, softer than any couch; and sweets and bread, fruits and vegetables, all excellently well prepared, moved up and down in order before the guests. Of the tripods two flowed with wine, two with water hot and cold. The cups, each large enough for four thirsty souls, and the wine coolers, were each one of a single stone, and of a stone in Greece so precious as to be set in rings and necklaces. The bronze cup-bearers poured out the wine and water in due proportions, as usual in drinking bouts. They all lay down to the feast, the king with the rest, for no place of honour was assigned him.

In the course of the dinner Iarchas said to the king, "I pledge you the health of this man", pointing to Apollonius, and with his hand signifying that he was a just and divine man. On this the king observed, "I understand that he, and some others who have put up in the village, are friends of Phraotes". "You understand rightly", said Iarchas, "for even here he is Phraotes' guest". "But what are his pursuits?" asked the king. "Those of Phraotes", answered Iarchas. "Worthless guest worthless pursuits! they prevent even Phraotes from becoming a man indeed", said the king. "Speak more modestly of philosophy and Phraotes", observed Iarchas,—"this language does not become your age". Here Apollonius, through Iarchas, inquired of the king "what advantage he derived from not being a philosopher?" "This, that I possess all virtue and am one with the sun", answered the king. Apollonius: "You would not think thus if you were a philosopher". The king: "Well friend as you are a philosopher, tell us what you think of yourself". Apollonius: "That I am a good man so long as I am a philosopher". The king: "By the sun, you come here full of Phraotes". Apollonius: "Thank heaven then, that I have not travelled in vain; and if you could see Phraotes, you would say he was full of me. He wished to write to you about me, but when he told me that you were a good man, I bade him not take that trouble, for I had brought no letter to him". When

the king heard that Phraotes had spoken well of him, he was pacified and forgot his suspicions; and in a gentle tone said: "Welcome, best friend", "Welcome you", said Apollonius, "one would think you had but just come in". "What brought you to this place?" asked the king. "The Gods and these wise men", answered Apollonius. "But tell me stranger, what do the Greeks say of me?" he next inquired. "Just what you say of them", said Apollonius. "But that is just nothing", he replied. "I will tell them so, and they will crown you at the Olympic games", Apollonius observed. Then turning to Iarchas: "Let us leave this drunken fool to himself. But why pray do you pay no attention to his son and brother and do not admit them to your table?" "Because", answered Iarchas, "they may one day rule, and by slighting them we teach them not to slight others". Apollonius then perceiving that the number of the Sophoi was eighteen observed to Iarchas that it was not a square number, nor indeed a number at all honoured or distinguished. Iarchas, in answer, told him that they paid no attention to number, but esteemed virtue only; he added, that the college when his grandfather entered it consisted of eighty-seven Sophoi, and that his grandfather then found himself its youngest, and eventually in the one hundred and thirtieth year of his age, its only surviving member; that no eligible candidate having in all that time offered himself for admission, he remained four years without a colleague; and that when he then received from the Egyptians congratulations on his alone occupying the seat of wisdom he begged them not to reproach India with the small number of its wise men. Iarchas then went on to blame the Elians, in that as he had heard from the Egyptians, they elected the Olympic dikasts by lot, and thus left to chance what should be the reward of merit; and that they always elected the same number,—never more, never less; and that they thus sometimes excluded good men and sometimes were obliged to choose bad ones. Better, he said, it had been if the Elians had allowed the number of the dikasts to vary with circumstances, but had always required in them the same qualifications.

The king here rudely interrupted them, and expressed his dislike of the Greeks, and spoke of the Athenians as the slaves of Xerxes; Apollonius turning to him asked if he had any slaves of his own. "Twenty thousand", he answered, "and born in my house. "Well, then", said Apollonius (always through Iarchas), "as you do not run away from them but they from you, so Xerxes

fled like a worthless slave from before the Athenians when he had been conquered at Salamis". "But surely", observed the king, "Xerxes, with his own hands, set fire to Athens?" "Yes", said Apollonius, "but how fearful was his punishment! He became a fugitive before those whom he had hoped to destroy; and in his very flight was most unhappy: for had he died by the hands of the Greeks, what a tomb would they not have built for him! what games not instituted in his memory!—as knowing that they honoured themselves when they honoured those whom they had subdued". On this the king burst into tears, and excused himself, and attributed his prejudices against the Greeks to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, who while they boasted of their nation as wise and holy and author of those laws relating to sacrifices and mysteries which obtain in Greece, described the Greeks as men of unsound judgment, the scum of men, insolent and lawless, romancers, and miracle-mongers, poor, and parading their poverty not as something honourable but as an excuse for theft. "But now", he went on to say, "that I know them to be full of goodness and honour, I hold them as my friends, and as my friends praise them and wish them all the good I can. I will no longer give credit to these Egyptians". Iarchas here observed that though he had long seen that the Egyptians had the ear of the king, he had said nothing but waited till the king should meet with such a counsellor as Apollonius. "Now however that you are better taught, let us", he concluded, "drink together the loving cup of Tantalus and then to sleep: for we have business to transact to night. I will however as occasion offers indoctrinate you in Grecian learning, the fullest in the world. And so stooping to the cup he first drank and then handed it to the other guests; and there was enough for all, for it bubbled up as if from a fountain.

They lay down to rest, and arose at midnight, and aloft in the air hymned the praises of the sun's ray. The Sophoi then gave private audience to the king. Next morning early, after the sacred rites, the king, for the law forbade his remaining more than one day at the college, retired to the village and vainly pressed Apollonius to visit him there. The Sophoi then sent for Damis, whom they admitted as a guest. The conversation now began; and Iarchas discoursed on the world: how it is composed of five elements—water, fire, air, earth, and aether, and how they are all co-ordinate, but that from aether the Gods, from air mortals, are generated; how moreover the world is an animal and herma-

phrodite; and how as hermaphrodite it reproduces by itself and of itself all creatures; and how as intelligence it provides for their wants, and with scorching heats punishes their wrong doing. And this world Iarchas further likened to one of those Egyptian ships which navigate the Red Sea. "By an old law no galley is allowed there; but only vessels round fore and aft fitted for trade. Well, these vessels the Egyptians have enlarged by building up their sides, and fitting them with several cabins, and they have manned them with pilots at the prow, seamen for the masts and sails, and marines as a guard against the barbarians; and over and above them all have set one pilot who rules and directs the rest. So in the world there is the first God, its creator; next him, the gods who rule its several parts—sung by the poets, as gods of rivers, groves, and streams: gods above the earth, and gods under the earth; and perchance too below the earth, but distinct from it, is a place terrible and deadly". Here, unable to contain himself, Damis cried out, in admiration: "Never could I have believed that any Indian was so thoroughly conversant with the Greek language, and could speak it with such fluency and elegance";

A messenger now announced and introduced several Indian suppliants—a child possessed, a lame and blind man, etc.—all of whom were cured.

Iarchas further initiated Apollonius, but not Damis, in astrology and divination and in those sacrifices and invocations in which the gods delight. He spoke of the divining power as raising man to an equality with the Delphian Apollo, and as requiring a pure heart and a stainless life, and as therefore readily apprehensible by the aetherial soul of Apollonius. He extolled it as a source of immense good to mankind, and referred to it the physician's art—for was not Aesculapius the son of Apollo? and was it not through his oracles that he discovered the several remedies for diseases, herbs for wounds, etc?

Then turning in a pleasant way, to Damis,—“And you Assyrian”, he said, “do you never foresee anything—you, the companion of such a man?” “Yes, by Jove”, answered Damis, “matters that concern myself; for when I first met with this Apollonius, he seemed to me a man full of wisdom and gravity and modesty and patience; and for his memory and great learning and love of learning I looked upon him as a sort of Daemon; and I thought that if I kept with him, that instead of a simple and ignorant man I should become wise,—learned instead of a barbarian; and that

if I followed him and studied with him I should see the Indians and see you; and that through his means I should live with the Greeks, a Greek. As to you then, you are occupied with great things, and think Delphi and Dodona or what you will. As for me, when Damis predicts he predicts for himself only like an old witch". At these words all the Sophoi laughed.

Apollonius enquired about the Martichora, an animal the size of a lion, four-footed with the head of a man, its tail long with thorns for hairs which it shoots out at those who pursue it;—about the golden fountain too; and the men who use their feet for umbrellas, the sciapods. Of the golden fountain and Martichora Iarchas had never heard; but he told Apollonius of the Pentarba and showed him the stone and its effects. It is a wonderful gem about the size of a man's thumbnail and is found in the earth at a depth of four fathoms; but though it makes the ground to swell and crack, it can only be got at by the use of certain ceremonies and incantations. It is of a fiery colour and of extraordinary brilliancy, and of such power, that thrown into a stream it draws to it and gathers round it all precious stones within a certain considerable range. The pigmies he said lived on the other side of the Ganges and under ground; but the Sciapods and Long-heads were mere inventions of Scylax. He described also the gold-digging griffins; that they were sacred to the Sun (his chariot is represented as drawn by them), about the size of lions, but stronger because winged; that their wings were a reddish membrane, and hence their flight was low and spiral; that they overpowered lions, elephants, and dragons; and that the tiger alone because of his swiftness was their equal in fight. He told of the Phoenix, the one of his kind, born of the sun's rays and shining with gold, and that his five hundred years of life were spent in India; and he confirmed the Egyptian account of this bird—that singing his own dirge he consumed himself in his aromatic nest at the fountains of the Nile. Similarly also swans it is said sing themselves to death, and have been heard by those who are very quick of ear.

They remained four months with the Sophoi. When they took their departure, Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings named after the seven planets; these rings he ever afterwards wore each in its turn on its name-day. The Sophoi provided him and his party with camels and a guide, and accompanied them on the road; and prophesying that Apollonius would even during his life attain the honours of divinity they took leave of him, and many

times looking back as in grief at parting with such a man returned to their college. Apollonius and his companions, with the Ganges on their right the Hyphasis on their left (sic), travelled down towards the sea-coast, a ten days' journey, and on their road they saw many birds and wild oxen, asses and lions, panthers and tigers, and a species of ape different from those that frequent the pepper-groves, black, hairy, and dog-faced, and like little men. And so conversing as their custom was of what they saw, they reached the coast, where they found a small factory and passage-boats of a Tuscan build and the sea of a very dark colour. Here Apollonius sent back the camels with this letter to Iarchas :—

“To Iarchas and the other Sophoi from Apollonius, greeting: I came to you by land, with your aid I return by sea, and might have returned through the air—such is the wisdom you have imparted to me. Even among the Greeks I shall not forget these things, and shall still hold commerce with you—or I have indeed vainly drunk of the cup of Tantalus. Farewell, ye best philosophers”.

Apollonius then embarked, and set sail with a fair and gentle breeze. He admired the Hyphasis, which at its mouth narrow and rocky hurries through beetling cliffs into the sea with some danger to those who hug the land. He saw too the mouth of the Indus, and Patala, a city built on an island formed by the Indus, where Alexander collected his fleet. And Damis confirms what Orthagoras has related of the Red Sea—that the Great Bear is not there visible; that at noon there is no shadow; and that the stars hold a different position in the heavens.

He speaks of Byblus with its large mussel, and of Pagala of the Oritae where the rocks and the sands are of copper; of the city Stobera and its inhabitants the Ichthyophagi, who clothe themselves in fish-skins and feed their cattle on fish; of the Carmani, an Indian race and civilized, who of the fish they catch keep only what they can eat, and throw the rest living back into the sea; and of Balara where they anchored, a mart for myrrh and palms. He tells too of the mode in which the people get their pearls. In this sea which is very deep the white-shelled oyster is fat, but naturally produces no pearls. When however the weather is very calm and the sea smooth and made still smoother by pouring oil upon it, the Indian diver equipped as a sponge-cutter, with the addition of an iron plate and a box of myrrh, goes down to hunt for oysters. As soon as he has found

one he seats himself beside it, and with his myrrh stupefies it and makes it open its shell. The moment it does this, he strikes it with a skewer and receives on his iron plate cut into shapes the ichor which is discharged from its wound. In these shapes the ichor hardens, and the pearls thus made differ in nothing from real pearl. This sea, he adds, is full of monsters, from which the sailors protect themselves by bells, at the poop and prow. Thus sailing, they at last reach the Euphrates, and so up to Babylon, and again meet Bardanes.

### III. Commentary

In reviewing this account of India, our first enquiry is into the authority on which it rests. Damis was the companion of Apollonius, so Philostratus and not impossibly public rumour affirmed. Damis wrote a journal, and though no scholar, was, according to Philostratus, as capable as any man of correctly noting down what he saw and heard. But Damis died, and his journal, if journal he kept and such a journal ever existed, lay buried with him for upwards of a century, till one of his family presented it to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, curious in such matters. But in what state?—untouched?—with no additions to suit the Empress's taste? Who shall tell? Again, the Empress did not order this journal to be published, but gave it to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to re-write and edit it; and so re-written and edited he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress. Weighing then these circumstances, all open to grave suspicion, every one must admit that the journal of Damis gives no authority to Philostratus's work; but that this last, and more especially the books which relate to India, may give authority to the journal and history. By their contents then they must be judged.

That Apollonius should pay little attention to, and not very accurately describe, external objects might be expected. One can understand that, occupied with the soul and gods, he should toil up the Hindu-kush without one remark on its snow-covered peaks—one plaint on the difficulties and dangers of its ascent. But how explain these lengthy descriptions of animals and natural wonders that never had existence? If you put forward Damis—of the earth, earthy, the Sancho Panza of this Quixote—an eager and credulous listener, you have still to show how it is, that these

descriptions so exactly tally with those of Ctesias and the historians of Alexander; how it is they are never original, except to add to our list of errors or to exaggerate errors already existing. Thus on Caucasus, more fortunate than the soldiers of Alexander, he not only hears of Prometheus but sees his chains. He climbs Mount Nysa, and has to tell of Bacchus and his orgies, and they are now no longer the inventions of flattery as Eratosthenes so shrewdly suspected, for Damis there found his temple and his statue. Similarly in general terms Seleucus Nicator and Onesicritus had vaunted the long life of elephants; but in Taxila Damis admired the elephant of Porus and on its golden bracelets read its name and age. Copying Ctesias, he speaks of the Indus as forty stadia broad where narrowest, of giant Indians five cubits high; of warms with an inextinguishable oil; of winged griffins, but instead of large as wolves he makes them as large as lions; and of the swift one-horned ass and the jewel Pantarbus, both of which he and Apollonius saw. Again Onesicritus knew by hearsay of serpents the pets of Aposeisares, of eighty and a hundred and forty cubits. Damis had been present at a dragon-hunt and had seen dragons' heads hanging as trophies in the streets of Paraka. Surely such information, not put forward as mere reports but solemnly vouched for, can never have come from a man who had really visited India, or they came from one of as little authority as Mendez Pinto, when he gives an account of his expedition to and a description of the imperial tombs of China.

But, it will be said, these wonders were the common stock in trade of Indian travellers; every man believed in them, and every man who went to India and wrote of India, was ashamed of not seeing at least as much as his predecessors. Leaving then these common-places, examine Damis where he is original, or nearly so. To him we owe the porphyry temple and the metal mosaics at Taxila; to him, that spur of Caucasus, stretching down from the Indian side of the Hyphasis to the Indian Ocean; to him, its pepper forests, and its monkeys, so useful in gathering the pepper harvests. Through him we know of the groves sacred to Venus, and the unguent so necessary to an Indian marriage. He alone tells of the wondrous hill; its crater fire of pardon, its rain-cask, and its brimming-cup of Tantalus; and though of wind-bags and of self-acting tripods Homer had already written, and though of a well of the test Ctesias had vaguely heard and its qualities Bardesanes has described, Damis gives them local habita-



tion, has seen them all.

With the Sophoi Damis lived four months in closest intimacy, and yet from his description of them, who shall say, who and what they were? To the powers he ascribes to them both Buddhists and Brahmans pretend. But while their mode of election determined by ancestral and personal character points them out as Buddhists, their name, their long hair, their worship of the sun, declare them Brahmans. But Buddhist or Brahman, at their feet after a long and weary travel Apollonius sits a disciple, and they instruct him—in doctrines and opinions which were current at Athens. In the very heart of India he finds its sages though “inland far they be”, well acquainted with Greek geography and the navigation of the Grecian seas, worshipping Greek gods, speaking Greek, thinking Greek,—more Greek than Indian. Absurd and impossible as this description seems to us, our Damis, if I judge him rightly, was not the man to advance what the Greek mind was wholly unprepared to receive. Accordingly, long ago Clitarchus and the historians of Alexander had announced an Indo-Greek Bacchus; to him Megasthenes added a Hercules; and more recently Plutarch had proclaimed, I know not on what authority, that the Indians were worshippers of the Greek gods; vague rumours therefore of such a worship were not improbably current, and Damis’s journal merely confirmed them. Again Nicolaus Damascenus was the first who spoke of the Greek language in connection with India. He states, that when at Antioch Epidaphne he met with some Indian ambassadors on their way to Augustus Caesar, and that their letter of credentials was in Greek. Diodorus, quoting Iambulus, speaks of the king of Palibothra as a lover of Greeks. Plutarch (end of the first century), though he does not name the Indians, in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, narrates that by his means Asia was civilised and Homer read there, and that the children of Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. Dio Chrysostom, contemporary with Plutarch and a friend of Apollonius, in a Panegyric upon Homer, insists upon his wide-spread reputation; that he lived in the memory not only of Greeks but of many of the barbarians; “for his poems it is said are sung by the Indians, who have translated them into their own language; so that a people who do not contemplate the same stars as ourselves, in whose heaven our polar star is not visible,—are not unacquainted with the grief of Priam and the tears and

wailings of Hecuba and Andromache and the courage of Achilles and Hector". Aelian, of about the same age as Philostratus, tells us that not only the Indians but the kings of Persia also have translated and sung the poems of Homer, "if one may credit those who write on these matters". On such vague authority, coupled doubtless with the fact that an Indo-Greek kingdom had formerly existed and had at one time extended to the Jumna, and that barbaric kings so honoured Greece that on their coins they entitled themselves Philhellene, Damis built up this part of his romance, which flattered Greek prejudices and soothed Greek vanity and was willingly received by that influential and educated class to whom it was addressed, and who were struggling to give new life and energy to the perishing religion of Greece.

Of Damis's geography I can only say that it reminds me of a fairy tale. As soon as he leaves the well-known scene of Alexander's exploits, he crosses mountains unknown to any map, and then describes an immense plain of fifteen days' journey to the Ganges and eighteen days to the Red Sea, but which he himself travels over in fourteen days; for in four days he reaches the hill of the Sophoi, and thence in ten days arrives at the one mouth of the Hyphasis. Who shall explain these discrepancies, account for these mistakes, and fix localities thus vaguely described?

Reviewing the whole work of Philostratus, it seems to me that Apollonius either pretended or was believed to have travelled through, and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not really visit it; and that if he did visit it, our Damis never accompanied him, but fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of, for it contains some facts, from books written upon India and tales, current about India, which he easily collected at that great mart for Indian commodities and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius and The Treatise of Eusebius*, with an English Translation by F. C. Conybeare (London, 1927), Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XII. 613.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 614. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, v-vii.

<sup>4</sup> Conybeare, *op. cit.*, vii.

<sup>5</sup> M-V, p. 195. Also cf. section III of the following extract.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.f.n.*, 1.

<sup>7</sup> M-V, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome*, by Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx (1873).

## XI. AELIAN

Claudius Aelianus, who flourished in the second-third century A.D., settled in Rome and taught rhetoric in the days of the Emperor Hadrian. He wrote two books, one of which, entitled *On the Peculiarities of Animals*, became popular and was regarded as a standard work on Zoology. It deals with quite a large number of birds and animals of India. A considerable portion of the work relating to India has been translated by McCrindle. A few selected passages from this are given below.<sup>1</sup>

III. 46<sup>2</sup>. An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers in battle stride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall, and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention. [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sully-ing the sacred name of friendship.]

VI. 37. Repeats Plutarch's story of the elephant of Porus (see above, p. 197).

XII. 8. The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice. The attendants even go in

advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.

XII. 44. In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use *which has four strings* and is called a *skindapsos*. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest riveted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

XII. 48. Not only the Indians, but the kings of Persia have translated and sung the poems of Homer, if one may credit those who have written on these subjects.

XIII. 18. In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is

calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides, which I cannot undertake to describe in this treatise. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; and among cultivated plants there are some to which the king's servants attend with special care, for there are shady groves and pasture-grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of woodsman has deftly interwoven. And these very trees, from the unusual benignity of the climate, are ever in bloom, and, untouched by age, never shed their leaves; and while some are native to the soil, others are with circumspect care brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. The olive is not of the number, this being a tree which is neither indigenous to India, nor thrives when transported thither. Birds and other animals that wander at freedom and have never been tamed resort of themselves to India and there build their nests and form their lairs. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The reason of all this is that they are believed to be sacred and that the Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds. They assign a specious enough reason for their doing so—namely, that the parrot alone, from the admirable conformation of its vocal organs, can imitate human speech. Within the palace ground there are also artificial ponds of great beauty in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves without the least risk of being drowned while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats.<sup>3</sup>

XIII. 22. An elephant trained for the purpose is the first to make an obeisance to the king of the Indians when he leaves the place to administer justice, and never forgets this duty, or refused to perform it. Close by the animal stands its keeper, who gives it a reminder of the lesson it has been taught by a stroke of the goad, and by accents of the native speech which elephants through a mysterious endowment of nature peculiar to themselves are capable of understanding. They are also stirred by the war-

spirit as if showing that they keep this lesson in mind. Four-and twenty elephants are constantly kept as guards of the king's person, and they relieve each other in turn just like other guards. They are trained likewise not to fall asleep when on guard, for they are tutored even to do this by the skill of the Indians. Hekataios the Milesian relates that Amphiaraios, the son of Aikles, being oppressed with sleep, neglected his watch and just escaped suffering what this writer mentions. But elephants are wakeful, and as they are not overpowered by sleep, they are, next to men, the most faithful of all sentinels.

XIII. 25. Horses and elephants being animals of great use in arms and warfare are held in the highest esteem by the Indians. In their king's service they fetch bundles of hay, which they deposit in the stalls, and provender also, which they bring home fresh and green and undamaged. When the king finds their freight in this condition, he expresses his satisfaction, but if not, he punishes most severely the men in charge of the elephants and horses. Even very small animals are not beneath his regard, and he even accepts them when brought to him as presents; for the Indians do not look down with contempt at any animal whatever, whether it be tame or even wild. For instance, subjects that are of rank offer the king such presents as cranes and geese, hens and ducks, turtle-doves and attagens, partridges and pindals (birds like the attagens), and other that are smaller than the above mentioned, such as bokalides and fly-catchers, and what are called kestrels. They show these below the feathers to prove the extent of their fatness. They give also animals which they have caught, stags, and antelopes, and gazelles and oryxes and unicorn asses (of which I have made previous mention), and also different kinds of fish, for they bring even these as presents.

XV. 7. In India, and more especially in the country of the Prasians, liquid honey falls like rain upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the cattle in return supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece.

XV. 8. The Indian pearl-oyster (I have already spoken of the Erythraean kind) is caught in the following manner. There

is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eucratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who are said to go off with nets and catch the kind of oysters mentioned, in a great bay by which a vast extent of the coast is indented. It is said that the pearl grows upon a shell like that of a large mussel, and that the oysters swim in great shoals, and have leaders, just as bees in their hives have their queen-bees. I learn further that the leader is bigger and more beautifully coloured than the others, and that in consequence the divers have a keen struggle in the depths which of them shall catch him, since when he is taken they catch also the entire shoal, now left, so to speak, forlorn and leaderless, so that it stirs not, and, like a flock of sheep that has lost its shepherd, no longer moves forward against any incipient danger. As long, however, as the leader escapes and skilfully evades capture, he guides their movements and upholds discipline. Such as are caught are put into tubs to decay, and when the flesh has rotted and run off, nothing is left but the round pebble. The best sort of pearl is the Indian and that of the Red Sea. It is produced also in the Western Ocean where the island of Britain is. This sort seems to be of a yellowish colour, like gold, while its lustre is dull and dusky. Juba tells us that the pearl is produced in the straits of the Bosphorus and is inferior to the British, and not for a moment to be compared with the Indian and Red Sea kind. That which is obtained in the interior of India is said not to have the proper characteristics, but to be a rock crystal.

XV. 14. The Indians bring to their king tigers made tame, domesticated panthers, and oryxes with four horns. Of oxen there are two kinds—one fleet of foot, and the other extremely wild, and from (the tails of) these oxen they make fly-flaps. The hair on their body is entirely black, but that of the tail is of the purest white. They bring also pigeons of a pale yellow plumage which they aver cannot be tamed or ever cured of their ferocity; and birds which they are pleased to call kerkoronoi, as well as dogs of that noble breed of which we have already spoken; and apes, some of which are white, and others again black. Those apes that are red-coloured they do not bring into towns, as they have a mania for women, and, if they assault them, are put to death from the abhorrence roused by such a lascivious outrage.

XV. 15. The great King of the Indians appoints a day

every year for fighting between men, as I have mentioned elsewhere, and also even between brute animals that are horned. These butt each other, and with a natural ferocity that excites astonishment, strive for victory, just like athletes straining every nerve whether for the highest prize, or for proud distinction, or for fair renown. Now these combatants are brute animals—wild bulls, tame rams, those called mesoi, unicorn asses, and hyaenas, an animal said to be smaller than the antelope, much bolder than the stag, and to butt furiously with its horns. Before the close of the spectacle, elephants come forward to fight, and with their tusks inflict death-wounds on each other. One not unfrequently proves the stronger, and it not unfrequently happens that both are killed.

XV. 21. When Alexander was assaulting some of the cities in India and capturing others, he found in many of them, besides other animals, a snake, which the Indians, regarding as sacred, kept in a cave and worshipped with much devotion. The Indians accordingly with every kind of entreaty implored Alexander to let no one molest the animal, and he consented to this. Now when the army was marching past the cave, the snake heard the sound that arose (that kind of animal being very sharp both of hearing and sight), and hissed so loud and emitted such gusts of rage that every one was terrified and quite confounded. It was said to be seventy cubits long, and yet the whole of it was not seen, but only its head that projected from the cave. Its eyes, moreover, are reported to have equalled the size of the large, round Macedonian shield.

XV. 24. The Indians make much ado also about the oxen that run fast; and both the king himself and many of the greatest nobles take contending views of their swiftness, and make bets in gold and silver, and think it no disgrace to stake their money on these animals. They yoke them in chariots and incur hazard on the chance of victory. The horses that are yoked to the car run in the middle with an ox on each side, and one of these wheels sharp round the turning-post and must run thirty stadia. The oxen run at a pace equal to that of the horses, and you could not decide which was the fleetest, the ox or the horse. And if the king has laid a wager on his own oxen with any one, he becomes so excited over the contest that he follows in his chariot to instigate the driver to speed faster. The driver again pricks the horses with the goad till the blood streams, but he keeps his hand off



the oxen, for they run without needing the goad. And to such a pitch does the emulation in the match between the oxen rise, that not only do the rich and the owners of the oxen lay heavy bets upon them, but even the spectators, just as Idomeneus the Cretan and the Locrian Ajax are represented in Homer betting against each other. There are in India oxen of another kind, and these look like very big goats. These are yoked together, and run very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of the Getae.

XVI. 2. I hear that parrots are birds found in India, and I have made mention of them already; but some particulars, which I then omitted, I take the opportunity of setting down here. There are, I am told, three kinds of them. All of them however, if taught like children, become like them able to talk and utter words of human speech. In the woods, however, they emit notes like those of other birds, but do not utter sounds that are significant and articulate—for without teaching they cannot talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest of their kind anywhere found, and wood-pigeons with pale-green feathers, which one ignorant of ornithology on seeing for the first time would take to be parrots and not pigeons. They have bills and legs of the same colour as Greek partidges. There are in India cocks also of the largest size, with crests not red-coloured like those of our cocks at least, but many-hued like a coronal of flowers. Their rump feathers are neither curved nor curled, but broad, and they trail them as peacocks do their tails when they do not lift and erect them. The plumage of these Indian cocks is of a golden and a gleaming azure colour like the smaragdus stone.

XVI. 17. In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000. It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

XVI. 18. In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome

shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if residents on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs.

XXIV. 13-15. When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gall their tongue by the use of spiked muzzles, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this

work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses. The greatest proficient test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant, either in what is called the tower, or on his bare back in sooth, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of a ship direct its course with the helm.

L. 4. The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities.

## FOOTNOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M-II, 73, 89, 93, 117-19, 169-70, 177—f.n., 1.; M-V, 141-7.

<sup>2</sup> Schwanbeck, and following him, McCrindle, ascribe this extract to Megasthenes (M-II, 118), but on very insufficient grounds.

<sup>3</sup> The palace described in this passage seems to be that of the Maurya Emperor at Pataliputra, but there is no evidence to show that it was copied from Megasthenes, as McCrindle supposes (M-V, 142). A similar account is given by Curtius (see above, p. 105).

## XII. DIONYSIOS PERIEGETES

Dionysios is distinguished from a host of writers of the same name by the surname of Periegetes from his authorship of a work in hexameter verse which contains a *Description of the whole world*. Nothing is known for certain either of the age or the country of this Dionysios, but he probably wrote towards the end of the third century A.D. His poem became so popular that it was translated into Latin verse and used as a schoolbook for teaching geography. The original consists of 1187 lines, of which 85 are devoted to the description of India and its conquest by Bacchus. The work is one of considerable poetic merit. The following extracts are based upon the English Translation of McCrindle (M-V, 187-90).

LI. 1080-1165. Direct now they attention eastwards to the part of Asia that still is left over, for the delineation of the continent is now nearing its completion. Hard by the Persian waters of the ocean dwell the Carmanians under the orient sun—settled not far off from the Persian land in separate spheres of the country, some along the shores of the sea and others in the interior. To the east of these stretches away the land of the Gedrosians, lying on the verge of the vast ocean, next to whom in the orient dwell the Scythians of the South, on the banks of the river Indus, which welling from fountains amid the soaring peaks of Caucasus, and rushing with furious speed straight south, goes, in ending its course, to encounter the tides of the Erythraean. The river has two mouths, and dashes against the island enclosed between them, called in the tongue of the natives, Patalene. Many, need I say, are the races of men whom it disparts. On the side where the sun sinks to his couch, are the Oreitans and Aribes and the Arachotians clad in linen mantles, and the Satraidans and the dalesmen of Parnasos<sup>1</sup>—all bearing the common name of Areianians. Far from delectable is the land of their abode—here a wilderness of barren sand, and there a dense jungle. But withal there are ways by which help comes to these poor mortals, for the earth yields them unalloyed wealth in another form—for they find the stone of red coral everywhere, and everywhere again the veins of underlying rocks give birth to beauteous tablets of the golden-hued and azure sapphire-stone, which they detach from the parent rock and part with at prices which yield them a livelihood. But on the eastern side the lovely land of the Indians lies outspread, the last of all lands, on the very lips of the ocean where the ascending sun with his earliest beams scatters heat and radiance over the works of gods and men. Hence the complexions of the dwellers there are dark, their limbs exquisitely sleek and smooth, and

the hair of their head surpassing soft, and dark-blue like the hyacinth. They are variously occupied—some by mining seek for the matrix of gold, digging the soil with well-curved pickaxes; others ply the loom to weave textures of linen; others saw the tusks of elephants and burnish them to the brightness of silver; and others along the courses of mountain torrents search for precious stones—the green beryl, or the sparkling diamond, or the pale-green translucent jasper, or the yellow-stone of the pure topaz, or the sweet amethyst, which with a milder glow imitates the hue of purple. For India enriches her sons with wealth in every form, being everywhere watered with perennial streams; nay, having moreover its meadows bedecked even with perpetual verdure, for while in one place the fields are covered with crops of grain, they flourish elsewhere with whole forests of the red-hued reed.

Attend to me now while I tell thee of the shape of India, and of its rivers and high-soaring mountains, and of the races of men who possess it. It has four sides which make oblique angles at their points of junction, so that it thus somewhat resembles a rhombus in shape. On the west its frontier is determined by the waters of the Indus, on the south by the billows of the Erythraean sea, on the east by the Ganges, and in the quarter of the polar Bears by Caucasus. Many are the men who possess this country, and happy the lives they lead, but they do not form a single community bearing a common name; on the contrary, they are separated into various tribes, each with a name of its own. Thus those called Dardanians have their seats by the mighty flood of the Indus, where the tortuous Akesines, sweeping down from his rock, is received by the navigable waters of the Hydaspes. After these follows third the Kophes with its silver eddies—and between them dwell the Sibai and Taxilans and then the Skodroi. Next come the wild tribes of the Peukalensians, beyond whom lie the seats of the Gargaridae, worshippers of Bacchus, where, swiftest of streams, the Hypanis, and the divine Magarses carry down the shining seeds of gold. Rushing down from the heights of Emodos<sup>2</sup> these rivers take their course to the regions of the Ganges, sweeping on to the frontiers of the realms of Kolis in the south. Now, the land here projects into the deep-whirling ocean in steep precipices, over which the fowls of heaven in swift flight can hardly wing their way, whence men have named the Rock Aornis. Then again, hard by the fair-flowing Ganges is wondrous spot of holy ground greatly honoured, having once on a time been trodden by

the infuriated Bacchus, when his soft fawn-skins were exchanged for shields, and his thyrsi rushed into swords of steel, and their ivy-wreaths and curling tendrils of the vine became coils of snakes, because at that time the people in their folly paid no heed to the festival of the god. Hence arose the name they gave the place, that of the Nysæan track, and hence along with their children they began to celebrate the orgies with all the due rites. But the god himself, when he had crushed the dark-coloured Indian races, advanced to the mountains of Emodos, at whose base rolls the mighty stream of the Eastern Ocean.

Priscian, the celebrated grammarian, translated the poem of Dionysios into Latin hexameter verse, in which occur the following lines, to which I can find nothing correspondent in the original text :—

Some of the Indians are so tall that they can mount elephants with as much ease as they mount horses. Others who pursue wisdom go about naked, and, what is wonderful, look with eyes undazzled on the sun, and, while concentrating their vision on his rays, concentrate also their minds on the holy themes, and in his light grasp the meaning of the secret signs of what is to be. Indigenous here is the green parrot adorned round the neck with a ring of red feathers—the bird which imitates the accents of the human tongue.

#### FOOTNOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Mount Paropanisas (Hindu Kush).

<sup>2</sup> The Himalayas.

### XIII. ACCOUNTS OF THE BRAHMANAS AND SRAMANAS

This chapter contains extracts from different writers describing the lives and habits of Indian Brahmanas and Sramanas. The latter term seems to include both Buddhists and Jains. The last section concerns two individual ascetics named Calanus and Dandamis who flourished at the time of Alexander (4th century B.C.).

The extracts in sections 1-4 are based on McCrindle's Translation (M-V, pp. 167-186, and M-II, 103-4), and those in section 5 are taken from M-II, 115-6, 120-9.

#### I. BARDAISAN (BARDESANES)

Bardaisan was an early teacher of Christianity and wrote a number of works in Syriac which are all lost. According to the Chronicle of Edessa which is a trustworthy work, he was born in that city in A.D. 154. Porphyry states that on one occasion at Edessa (a city in the northern extremity of Mesopotamia) he met an Indian deputation to the Roman Emperor and learnt from them the nature of Indian religion. According to Stobaeus (who probably flourished about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.) the Indian embassy was headed by Dandamis or Sandanes, and came to Syria during the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218-22). The information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists which Bardaisan gathered from the Indians was embodied in a work. This work is lost but an extract has been preserved by Porphyry (A.D. 233-306) in the Fourth Book of his treatise *On Abstinence from Animal Food*.<sup>1</sup> This is reproduced below from McCrindle (M-V, pp. 169 ff.) as Extract A.

It is to be noted that Porphyry calls Bardesanes a Babylonian, but there is hardly any doubt that he refers to the Christian writer of that name, born in Edessa, mentioned above.

Two extracts from the work of Bardaisan have been preserved by Joannes Stobaeus, mentioned above, who compiled a valuable series of extracts from Greek authors. The first Extract, B, is more or less identical with A, and the second Extract, C, deals with other matters. Both are reproduced from McCrindle—V, pp. 167-9 and 172-4.

*De Abstinencia*, Book IV. 16. But since we have already made mention of one of the foreign nations which is known to fame, and righteous and believer to be pious towards the gods, we shall proceed to further particulars regarding them.

17. For since in India the body politic has many divisions, one of them is the order of the holy sages, whom the Greeks are wont to call the Gymnosophists, and of whom there are two sects—the Brachmans and the Samanaeans. The Brachmans form the leading sect, and succeed by right of birth to this kind of divine wisdom as to a priesthood. The Samanaeans, on the other hand, are selected, and consist of persons who have conceived a wish to devote themselves to divine wisdom. Their style of life is described as follows by Bardesanes, a Babylonian who lived in the days of our fathers, who met with those Indians who accompanied

Damadamis on his embassy to the emperor. For all the Brachmans are of one race, all of them deducing their origin from one (common) father and one (common) mother. The Samanaeans, again, are not of their kindred, but are collected, as we have said, from all classes of the Indians. The Brachman is not subject to the authority of the king, and pays no tribute with others to the state. Of these philosophers, some live on the mountains, and others on the banks of the river Ganges. The mountain Brachmans subsist on fruits and cow-milk, curdled with herbs, while the dwellers by the Ganges subsist on the fruits which grow in great plenty on the banks of that river, for the soil produces an almost constant succession of fresh fruits—nay, even much wild rice which grows spontaneously, and is used for food when there is a lack of fruit. But to taste anything else, or so much as to touch animal food, is held to be the height of impurity and impiety. They inculcate the duty of worshipping the deity with pious reverence. The whole day and greater part of the night they set apart for hymns and prayers to the gods. Each of them has a hut of his own in which he passes as much time as possible in solitude. For the Brahman has an aversion to society and much discourse, and when either occurs, they withdraw and observe silence for many days, and they even frequently fast. The Samanaeans, on the other hand, are, as we have observed, collected from the people at large, and when any one is to be enrolled in their order, he presents himself before the magistrates of the city or of the village to which he happens to belong, and there resigns all his possessions and his other means. The superfluous parts of his person are then shaved off, and he puts on the Samanaean robe and goes away to join the Samanaeans, taking no concern either for his wife or his children, if he has any, and thinks of them no more. The king takes charge of his children and supplies their wants, while his relatives provide for his wife. The life of the Samanaeans is on this wise. They live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse on divine things. Their houses and temples are founded by the king, and in them are stewards who receive a fixed allowance from the king for the support of the inmates of the convents, this consisting of rice, bread, fruits, and pot-herbs. When the convent bell rings all strangers then in the house withdraw, and the Samanaeans entering offer up prayers. Prayer over, the bell rings a second time, whereupon the servants had a dish to each (for two never eat out of the same vessel). The dish contains



rice, but should one want a variety he is supplied with vegetables, or some kind of fruit. As soon as dinner, which is soon despatched, is over, they go out and betake themselves to their usual occupations. They are neither allowed to marry nor to possess property. They and the Brahmins are held in such high honour by the other Indians that even the king himself will visit them to solicit their prayers when the country is in danger or distress and their counsel in times of emergency.

18. Both classes take such a view of death that they endure life unwillingly, as being a hard duty exacted by nature, and accelerate the release of their souls from their bodies; and frequently, when their health is good and no evil assails or forces them, they take their leave of life<sup>2</sup>. They let their intention to do so be known to their friends beforehand, but no one offers to prevent them; on the contrary, all deem them happy, and charge them with messages to their dead relatives, so firm and true is the belief in their own minds, and in the minds of many others, that souls after death have intercourse with each other. When they have heard the commissions entrusted to them, they commit their body in completest purity, and then they die amid hymns resounding their praises, for their most attached friends dismiss them to death with less reluctance than it gives us to part with our fellow-citizens who set out on a distant journey. They weep, but it is for themselves, because they must continue to live, and those whose death they have witnessed they deem happy in their attainment of immortality. And neither among those Samanaeans nor among the Brahmins whom I have already mentioned, has any sophist come forward, as have so many among the Greeks, to perplex with doubts by asking where would we be if every one should copy their example.

## B.

According to Stobaeus (who flourished probably about the beginning of the sixth century) an Indian embassy came to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Elagabalus), who reigned from A.D. 218-222 (*Physica*, i. 54). The chief of this embassy, Dandamis or Sandanes, having in Mesopotamia met with Bardesanes<sup>1</sup>, communicated to him information regarding the Indian Gymnosophists which Bardesanes embodied in a work now lost, but of which the following fragment has been preserved by Stobaeus from Porphyry.

'The Indian Theosophs, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmans and Shamans, Samanaeoi. The Brahmans are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently, from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of the divine things. The Brahmans pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king. Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmans subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs. The others live on the fruit of trees which are found in plenty near the river and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits, and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that grows there. To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness. Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike society, even that of one another, or much discourse, that when either happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days. They fast often.

'The Shamans, on the other hand, are, as I said, an elected body. Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property. He then shaves his body, puts on the Shaman robe, and goes to the Shamans, and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children if he have any, and never thinks of them any more, but leaves his children to the king and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life. The Shamans live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things. They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards, who receive from the king a certain allowance of food, bread, and vegetables for each convent. When the convent bell rings, all strangers then in the house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayer. Prayer ended, at the sound of a second bell the servants place before each individual, for two never eat together, a dish of rice, but to any one who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit. As soon as they have done dinner, and they hurry over it, they go out to their usual occupations. They are not allowed to marry or to possess property. They and

the Brahmins are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment, and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country.

Both Shamans and Brahmins have such a notion of death that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten, therefore, to free the soul from the body. And often when a man is in good health, and no evil whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations; so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, he throws himself, in order that he may quit the body in all purity, into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd.<sup>2</sup> And his nearest friends dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to set out on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

### C.

*Physica*, i. 56. Gaisford's Edition—Bardisanes has recorded that a lake in India still exists called the Lake of Probation, into which any Indian goes down who professes his innocence of a crime with which he is charged. The Brachmans apply the ordeal in this way. They ask the man if he is willing to undergo the trial by water, and if he declines they send him to be punished as being guilty. But should he consent, they conduct him to the lake with his accusers, for these also are subjected to the ordeal by water, lest the charge they prefer should be fictitious or malevolent. On entering the water they pass through to the other side of the lake, which is everywhere knee-deep for every one who goes in. Now should the accused be innocent, he goes in and passes through without any fear, and is never wet above the knee; but if guilty, before he goes far the water is over his head. Then the Brachmans drag him out of the water and deliver him

up alive to his accusers, considering him to deserve any punishment short of death. But this is of rare occurrence, since no one cares to deny his guilt through dread of the ordeal by water.

The Indians, then, have this lake for the trial of voluntary offences, and they have another besides for the voluntary and involuntary alike—in fact, for the trial of a man's whole life. Bardisanes gives the account of it, which I transcribe in his own words: They (the Indian ambassadors) told me further that there was a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country, wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded crosswise—and the right-half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the combination, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body<sup>3</sup>. In this statue was engraved, it is said, on the right breast the sun, and on the left the moon, while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels and whatever the world contains, that is to say, the sky and mountains and a sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals—in fact, everything. The Indians allege that the deity had given this statue to his son when he founded the world as a visible representation thereof. And I inquired, adds Bardisanes, of what material this statue was made, when Sandales assured me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell what the material was, for it was neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor stone, nor indeed any known substance, but that though not wood it most resembled a very hard wood, quite free from rot. And they told how one of their kings had tried to pluck out one of the hairs about the neck, and how blood flowed out, whereat the king was so struck down with terror that, even with all the prayers of the Brachmans, he hardly recovered his senses. They said that on its head was the image of a god, seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats the statue ran all over with sweat, so copiously discharged that it would have moistened the ground at the base, did not the Brachmans use their fans to stop the flux. Farther on in the cave, a long way behind the statue, all, the Indians say, was dark, and those who wish, go in advance with lighted torches till they come to a door from which water issues and forms a lake around the far end of

the cave. Through this door those must pass who desire to prove themselves. Those who have lived unstained with vice pass through without impediment, the door opening wide to them, and find within a large fountain of water clear as crystal and of sweetest taste—the source of the stream spoken of. The guilty, however, struggle hard to push in through that door, but fail in the attempt, for it closes against them. They are thus compelled to confess their offences against others, and to entreat the rest to pray for them. They also fast for a considerable time.

Sandanes further stated that himself and his companions found the Brachmans on an appointed day assembled together in this place, that some of them spent their life there, but that others come in the summer and autumn when fruit is plentiful both to see the statue and meet their friends, as well as to prove themselves whether they could pass through the door. At the same time, it is said, they examine the sculptures on the statue and try to discover their meaning, for it is not easy to attend to the whole representation, the objects being numerous, while some of the plants and animals are not to be found in any part of the country. Such then is the account which the Indians give to the ordeal by water. It is, I think, of this water in the cave that Apollonius of Tyana makes mention, for when writing to the Brachmans he swears this oath: 'No, by the water of Tantalus, you shall not initiate me into your mysteries'; for, it seems to me, he speaks of this water of Tantalus because it punishes with the disappointment of their hopes those who come eagerly to it, and try to drink of it.

## 2. DION CHRYSOSTOM

Dion, surnamed Chrysostom or the golden-mouthed, on account of his shining abilities as an orator, was born at Prusa, a city of Mysia, about the middle of the first Christian century. He found occupation at first in his native place, where he held important offices, practised the composition of speeches and rhetorical essays, and studied philosophy. Eight of his Orations are still extant, and these sufficiently justify the opinion of the ancients, that Dion is one of the most eminent among the Greek rhetoricians and sophists. His style is praised for its Attic purity and grace.

*Oratio.* XXXV. 434. No men live more happily than you (the Phrygians), with the exception of the Indians, for in their country, 'tis said, the rivers flow not, like yours, with water, but one river with pellucid wine, another with honey, and another with oil, and they have their springs among the hills—in the breasts, so to speak, of the earth. In these respects there is a world of

difference between you and them as regards pleasure and power; for what you have here, you get with difficulty and in a shabby way, pilfering trees of their fruits, calves of their milk, and bees of their honey; but in India things are altogether purer, except, I imagine, for violence and rascality. The rivers flow for one month for the king, and this is his tribute, but for the rest of the year they flow for the people. So then they pass each day in the society of their children and their wives at the sources and by the streams of the rivers, playing and laughing as if at a festival. Along the river banks there flourishes in great vigour and luxuriance the lotus—and this is about the sweetest of all comestibles, and not like our lotus, which is no better than food for cattle. Sesame also grows there in abundance, and parsley, as one might conjecture from their similarity—but in respect of excellence of quality there can be no comparison. In the same country is produced another seed yielding a better and much more suitable food than wheat and barley. This grows in large enveloping leaves like a rose, but these leaves are more fragrant and of larger size. The roots of these plants they eat as well as the fruit, and they require not to labour. There are many channels to convey water from the rivers, some of them large and others which are smaller and mingle with each other. These are made by the inhabitants as suits their pleasure; and they convey water in ducts with facility, just as you convey water for the irrigation of your gardens. They have besides at hand water-baths of two kinds; that which is hot and clearer than silver, and the other dark-blue by reason of its depth and coldness. In these the women and children swim about together—all of them models of beauty. Emerging from the bath, I can fancy them lying down in the meadows, commingling their sweet voices in mirth and song. And there the meadows are of ideal loveliness, and decked by nature with flowers, and with trees, which from overhead cast a protecting shade, and offer fruit within reach of all who would pluck it from the descending branches. Of birds, again, there is a great plenty, which make the hills where they have their homes resound with their songs, while others, from the spray of overhanging boughs, warble notes more melodious than those played by your instruments of music. The wind, too, blows gently, and there is always an equable temperature, such as prevails at the beginning of summer, and besides all this, the sky is there clearer than yours, and surpasses it in the multitude and splendour of its stars. Their span

of life is not less than forty years, and for all this time they are in the bloom of youth and they know neither old age nor disease nor want. But, though India is actually in the enjoyment of all these blessings, there are nevertheless men called Brachmans, who, bidding adieu to the rivers and turning away from those with whom they had been thrown in contact, live apart, absorbed in philosophic contemplation, subjecting their bodies to sufferings of astonishing severity, though no one compels them, and submitting to terrible endurances. It is said, further, that they possess a remarkable fountain—that of truth—by far the best and most divine of all—and that any one who has once tasted it can never be satiated or filled with it.

These statements are not fictions, for some of those who come from India have ere now asserted them to be facts, and some few do come in pursuit of trade. Now these do business with the inhabitants of the sea coast, but this class of Indians is not held in repute, and are reprobated by the rest of their countrymen. You must needs then acknowledge that the people of India are more blest than yourselves, while you are yourselves more blessed than all others, with the solitary exception of a race of men that are the richest in gold. This gold, let me tell you, they take from ants—creatures that are larger than foxes, though in other respects like your own foxes. They dig under the earth in the same way as other ants, but the gold which they heap up is purer than all other gold and of greater brilliancy. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, and flash their splendour all the plain over. It is difficult in consequence to look towards the sun, and many who have tried to do so have ruined their eyesight. The men who are next neighbours to the ants, in seeking to plunder these mounds, cross the intervening space—a desert of no great extent, mounted on wagons drawn by their swiftest horses. They arrive at noon when the ants have gone underground, and seizing at once the contents of the mound, take to flight. The ants on discovering the theft give chase, and overtaking the robbers, close with them in fight till they conquer or die; for in prowess they surpass all other wild beasts.

*Oratio.* XLIX. 538. The Indians have the Brachmans, who excel in self-control and in righteousness and their love of the Diving Being, whence they have a better knowledge of the future than other men have of the present.

*Oratio.* XXXII. 373. For I see in the midst of you (the Alexandrians) not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabians, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions.

*Oratio.* LIII. 554-55. It is said that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians, who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression, so that even the Indians, to whom many of our stars are invisible since it is said that the Bears do not show themselves in their horizon, are not unacquainted with the woes of Priam, and the weeping and wailing of Andromache and Hecuba, and the heroic feats of Achilles and Hector, so potent was the influence of what one man had sung.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. PSEUDO-KALLISTHENES

Kallisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, was one of the men of learning who accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic expedition. He offended Alexander by reproaching him for introducing the dress and manners of the Persian Court into his own. He was accused at Baktra of having instigated the conspiracy of the Court Pages, was imprisoned and cruelly put to death. The Romance History was falsely ascribed to him.

C. Muller, who is so well known as the editor of the *Geographi Graeci Minores* and other classical texts, published in 1846, along with the *Anabasis* and the *Indika* of Arrian, the Romance History of Alexander the Great under the title *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*. In his Preface to this work, after expressing a fear lest, in conjoining the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* with Ptolemy and Aristobulus, he should be charged with wandering from his proper into an alien sphere, he says it is very remarkable how widely the myths about Alexander were spread throughout the world, and how it came to pass that, in days when Europe, spurred by the crusading frenzy, invaded Asia, these myths became themes of song. Since Muller thus wrote, much light has been thrown on their origin and the accretions by which they reached their present form. The Greek MSS. which contain them were long lost sight of, buried in the depths of various European libraries. There existed, however, translations in Italian, French, and German, not made from the original Greek, but from a Latin version made in Egypt by Julius Valerius not later than the beginning of the fifth century of our era. The original appears to have been composed before the middle of the fourth century. No single MS. is complete, but what is wanting in the one which forms the basis of the text is supplied from other MSS. To the Greek text is subjoined the Latin version of Julius Valerius. In the third of the three books into which the history is divided, we find Alexander in India. He is represented to have entered it after overcoming the reluctance of his army to encounter toils and dangers anew after the conquest of Persia. He was opposed by Porus, whom he slew in single combat. He then proceeded to the country of the Oxydrakai, where he lived with the Brahmans or Gymnosophists, with whose doctrines and practices he had a great desire to become acquainted. An account is given at great length of his intercourse with these pious ascetics, who condescended to receive his visit, instructed him in their philosophy, and failed not to impress upon him the superior grandeur of their view of life to his. From the Brahmans he marched forward to Prasiaca, the capital of India, which was seated on a promontory which overlooked the sea. From Prasiaca Alexander wrote a long epistle to his old master, Aristotle, in which he described the difficulties and dangers



which he had encountered on his march, and the many kinds of strange animals and other marvels which he had seen and witnessed. On leaving India he went on his way to visit Candace, the Queen of Meroë, who was famous for her beauty and the splendour of her capital.

In the midst of the report of the conversations held between Alexander and the Brahmans, is abruptly inserted in the leading MS. a small treatise *About the Nations of India and the Brachmans*, which does not belong to the *History of Alexander*, but to the *Lausiæ Histories* of Palladius, who wrote about 420 A.D. Mûler has subjoined the Latin version of this little work prepared by St. Ambrose. Here I give it in English from the Greek text.

Book-III. vii. Your great love of labour, of learning, and of the beautiful, and your piety—a disposition of mind which adorns the best men—have induced us to take in hand yet another work, a narrative full to overflowing of wise instruction. We then, prompted by our regard for you, in addition to what we have already related, will further give you a description of the Brachmans, whose country I have neither visited, nor met with any of its people; for they live far remote, dwelling near the Ganges, the river of India and Serica. But I merely reached the Akrotêria of India a few years ago with the blessed Moses, the Bishop of Adulê, for, being distressed by the heat, which was so fierce that water which on gushing from its fountain was excessively cold began to boil when put into a vessel, I turned back when I noticed this, as I found no shelter from the burning heat.

This river Ganges is in our opinion that which is called in Scripture the Phison, one of the rivers which are said to go out from Paradise. A story is told of Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, in which their (the Brahmans') mode of life is described; but to connect the story with him is perhaps a mistake, for he did not, I think, make his way to the Ganges, but penetrated to Sêrica, where the Sêres produce silk, and where he erected a stone pillar with the inscription: 'Alexander, the King of the Macedonians, reached this place'.

Now, for what I have been able to learn about the Brachmans I am indebted to a certain Theban scholar, who willingly left his home to travel abroad, but had unwillingly to endure captivity. This person, so he told me, was unfitted by nature to succeed in the legal profession, and, regarding it with indifference, resolved to explore the land of the Indians. So he set sail with an elderly man and came first to Adoulis (Adulê), and next to Auxoumê. . . . in which a petty Indian King resided. After spending some time there and making many acquaintances, he formed a wish to visit the island of Taprobanê, inhabited by the people called Makro-

bioi (that is, *the long-lived*). For in the island the old live to 150 years by reason of the extreme goodness of the climate and through the unsearchable will of Heaven. In this island, too, resides the Great King of the Indians, unto whom all the petty kings of that country are subject as satraps, as the scholar himself explained to me, who had himself learned the fact from some one else, for he had not been able to enter the island. In the neighbourhood of this island, if I have not been falsely informed, are a thousand other islands in the Erythraean Sea lying close to each other. Since, then, the magnet stone which attracts iron exists in these islands, which are called the Maniolai, if any vessel that has iron nails approaches them, it is held back by the property inherent in the magnet so that it cannot reach the shore. But there are boats specially adapted for crossing over into that great island, being fastened with the wooden pegs.

viii. 'This island,' the traveller says, 'has five very large rivers, which are navigable. As the islanders informed him, the trees in these parts were never without fruit—for, as he states, while on the same tree one spray is budding, another has unripe fruit, and a third fruit that is quite ripe. The island has also palm-trees and nuts of the largest size produced in India, as well as the small odoriferous nut. The inhabitants of that country live on milk, rice, and fruit. As neither cotton nor flax is a product of their soil, they wear round their loins the fleeces of sheep beautifully worked, but leave the rest of the body bare. The sheep have hair instead of wool, give great quantities of milk, and have broad tails. They use as food mutton and goat flesh, but not pork—for from the Thebaid to the farthest confines of India and Ethiopia the swine is not to be found on account of the excessive heat. The scholar therefore relates, that "when I found certain Indians engaged in commerce, embarking on a voyage across from Auxoumê, I was tempted to go farther afield, and reached the people called the Bisadae, who gather the pepper. They are a feeble folk, of very diminutive stature, and live in caves among the rocks. They understand how to climb precipices through their intimate knowledge of the localities, and are thus able to gather the pepper from the bushes". For, as my informant, the scholar, told me, pepper grows on a low dwarf tree, while the Bisadae are small men of stunted growth, but with big heads, the hair of which is straight and is not cut. The Ethiopians and Indians elsewhere are black and of a youthful appearance and have bristly hair. When I pluc-

ked up courage and endeavoured to enter that country, I was prevented by the sovereign, and neither did they understand what I said in my own behalf, as they knew not the language of my country, nor did I again know what inquiries they were addressing to me, for I knew not their language. All we could do was to keep in line with each other by employing distortions of the eyes as intelligible signs. For my part, I conjectured the import of what was charged against me from the bloodshot colour of their eyes and from the fierce grinding of their teeth. They, on the other hand, were quick to perceive, from the trembling of my limbs, the paleness of my face, from my terror and anguish, the pitiable state of my mind and the coward fears that shook my frame. I was accordingly detained among them for six years, during which I had to work in the service of a baker to whom I was handed over. The expenditure of their king, he says, was a peck (*Modios*, Latin *Modus*) of flour for the whole palace. Where this king came from I know not. As I was in captivity for six years, I thus by degrees learned a good deal of their language, and acquired also some knowledge of the adjacent tribes. I got away, he proceeds, from that place in the manner following. Another king, who made war upon the one who detained me, accused him to the Great King, who resides in Taprobanê, of having made a Roman citizen of importance prisoner, and of subjecting him to the meanest of employments. Then the Great King sent one of his officers to investigate the case, and he, on learning the truth, ordered the offender to be flayed and his skin to be made into a bag, for his insolent treatment of a Roman. For the people there are said to have a profound respect for the Roman Empire, yea, even to entertain a dread of the Romans, who could invade their country, owing to their matchless courage and their prowess in war.'

ix. The traveller stated that the Brachman nation was not an order like that of the monks, which one could enter if he chose—but a society, admission into which was allotted from above by the decrees of God. They live in a state of nature near the river, and go about naked. They have no quadrupeds, no tillage, no iron, no house, no fire, no bread, no wine, no implement of labour, nothing tending to pleasure. The air they breathe is at once bracing and temperate, and altogether most delightful. They reverence the Deity, and are not so scant of wit as to be unable to discern aright the principles of divine Providence. They pray without ceasing, and, while so engaged, instead of looking towards the East, they

direct their eyes steadfastly towards heaven without averting their gaze to the East. They subsist on such fruits as chance offers, and on wild lupines that grow spontaneously. They drink water as they roam about the woods, and they take their repose on the leaves of trees. In their country *persunon* (elecampane?) grows abundantly and *acantha* wood, and the soil elsewhere yields fruits for the sustenance of man. And the men dwell by the shores of the ocean on yonder side of the river Ganges, for this river discharges its waters into the ocean—but their women live on the other side of the Ganges, towards the interior of India. The men cross over to their wives in the months of July and August. These months are colder with them than the other months, because at that season the sun is elevated in our direction and over the North; and it is said that the temperature is more exhilarating and adapted to excite the sexual desires. After spending forty days with their wives they recross the river. When the wife has borne two children, her husband does not again cross over nor go near his wife. When, therefore, they have given sons as their substitutes, they abstain for the rest of their lives from intercourse with their wives. But if it happens that a wife proves barren, her husband crosses over to her for five years and cohabits with her. And if she does not then bear a child, he no longer goes near her. The race accordingly does not multiply much, both because of the hardships to which life is exposed in these regions, and also the strict control of the impulse to procreation. Such is the body politic of the Brachmans.

x. They say that the crossing of the river is rendered difficult by the monstrous creature called the *Odontotyrannos*. For it is an animal of most enormous size that lives in the river, and that can swallow down whole the amphibious elephant. At the time when the Brachmans cross over to their wives it is not seen thereabouts. There are besides huge snakes in those parts seventy cubits long. I saw the skin of one of them, and its breadth measured five cubits. There, too, are the ants of old renown, and scorpions a cubit long. Travelling in these places, need I say, is beset with great peril and difficulty. But enormous animals are not found everywhere in the country, but only in uninhabited places. There are large herds of elephants.

Arrian, the disciple of Epiktêtos the philosopher, who had been a slave, but whose genius for philosophy led him to take up its pursuit in the days of the Emperor Nero, who put to death the

illustrious apostles, the blessed Peter and Paul—this Arrian wrote a history of Alexander the Macedonian, a work which I acquired and sent to thee, brave and worthy sir, packed up along with my own Memoir, which if you read intelligently, and study with care, you will live in security.

#### 4. INCIDENTAL NOTICES

##### A. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS

Clemens was a native of Athens and was probably born about A.D. 150, but as he spent the greater part of his life in Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, he was surnamed the Alexandrian. During his residence there he became the disciple of Pantaenus, who was the head of the Christian School of Alexandria, and whom he succeeded in that office in 211 A.D. His notice of the Brachmans or Brahmins is contained in his work which he called *Stromateis*, to indicate the miscellaneous nature of its contents.<sup>5</sup> He probably lived till A.D. 220.

*Stromateis*. III. 194. The Brachmans neither eat anything having life nor drink wine, but some of them every day, like ourselves, take food, while others of them do so once in three days, as Alexander Polyhistor relates in his *Indika*. They despise death, and set no value on life; for they are persuaded that there is a new birth (*paliggenesia*), and these worship Herakles and Pan. But those Indians who are called *Semnoi* go naked all their lives.<sup>6</sup> These practise truth, make predictions about futurity, and worship a kind of pyramid beneath which they think the bones of some divinity lie buried<sup>7</sup>. But neither the Gymnosophists nor the *Semnoi* use women, for they regard this as contrary to nature and unlawful; for which reason they keep themselves chaste. The *Semnai*, too, remain virgin. They observe closely the heavenly bodies, and by the indications of futurity which these offer, make some predictions.

I. 305. That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. **Megasthenes**, the author of a work *on India*, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these<sup>8</sup>:—"All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."

Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanaeans who were the philosophers of the Bactrians and the Kelts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judaea, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmânai and the other the Brachmânai. Connected with the Sarmânai are the philosophers called the Hylobioi, who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor beget children [like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkratêtai. Among the Indians are those *philosophers* also who follow the precepts of Boutta,<sup>9</sup> whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.

#### B. ST. JEROME (C.A.D. 340-420)

II. *Adv. Jovin.* 14. Bardesanes, a Badylonian, divides the Indian Gymnosophists into two sects, one of which he calls Brachmans and the other Samanaeans, who are so abstemious that they subsist on the fruits of trees or a public allowance of rice or flour. And the king on coming to them worships them, and the peace of his dominions depends according to his judgement on their prayers.

*Contra Jov*, Epist. pt. I., Tr. ii. 26. Hence among the Gymnosophists there is a tradition which lends authority to this opinion (the honour of virginity), that Buddha (Buddas), the founder of their doctrine, was born from the side of a virgin.

#### C. PLUTARCH. (See p. 194)

T. II. p. 36. To bewail him who enters life because of the many ills he comes to, but on the other hand to dismiss from his earthly home him whom death hath released from his miseries with gladness and expressions of felicitation.

## D. ARCHELAOS.

Archelaos, the Bishop of Carrha in Mesopotamia, is famous for the discussion which he held in public with the heretic Manes in A.D. 278.

*Archelai et Manetis Disputatio*, I. 97. Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus<sup>10</sup>, but that he was a new Buddiha (Buddas), for such was the name he now assumed, and that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up on the mountains by an angel.

## E. KEDRENOS.

Kedrenos, a Greek monk of the eleventh century, was the compiler of a *Synopsis of History*, which begins with the creation of the world and goes down to the year 1057. As an author he shows himself deficient alike in historical knowledge and in judgement. Of his life nothing is known.

*Synop. Hist.* I. pp. 516-17, Bohn's Edition.—And in this year of the Emperor Constantine, Metrodoros, a Persian by birth, on pretence of philosophy, went off to India and the Brachmans, and by leading a strictly ascetic life won their respect and reverence. He constructed for them water-mills and baths—things previously unknown in the country. This man for his piety was admitted into the most sacred recesses of their temples, and stole their precious stones and pearls. He received also from the king of the Indians presents to carry to the emperor, and those he gave to him as if they were his own.

## F. HIEROKLES

Hierokles, a native of Hyllarima in Karia, is supposed to have been the author of a work called *Oeconomicus*, of which Stobaeus has preserved some extracts.

Hierokles—from Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Brachmanes.—After this I thought it worth my while to go and visit the Brahman caste. These men are philosophers dear to the gods, and especially devoted to the sun. They abstain from all flesh meats and live out in the open air, and honour truth. Their dress is made of the soft and skin-like fibres of stones, which they weave into a stuff that no fire burns or water cleanses. When their clothes get soiled or dirty, they are thrown into a blazing fire, and come out quite white and bright.—Priault's *Trans.*

Hierokles—from the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes (VII. *Hist.* 144-716).—Then I came to a country very dry and burnt up by the sun. And all about this desert I saw men naked and houseless, and of these some shaded their faces with their ears, and the rest of their bodies with their feet raised in the air. Of these men Strabo has a notice, as also of the no-heads and ten-heads and four-hands-and-feet men, but none of them did I ever see, quoth Hierokles.

## 5. CALANUS AND DANDAMIS

a. Arrian—*Anabasis of Alexander* (See p. 5) VII. ii. 3-9.

This shows that Alexander, notwithstanding the terrible ascendancy which the passion for glory had acquired over him, was not altogether without a perception of the things that are better; for when he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists, a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he also was the son of Zeus as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's (for he was well off in his present circumstances), whereas he saw those who were with him wandering over so much sea and land for no good got by it, and without any end coming to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing Alexander had it in his power to give, nor, on the other hand, feared aught he could do to coerce him: for if he lived, India would suffice for him, yielding him her fruits in due season, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not put forth his hand to violence, knowing the man to be of an independent spirit. He is said, however, to have won over Calanus, one of the sophists of that place, whom **Megasthenes** represents as a man utterly wanting in self-control, while the sophists themselves spoke opprobriously of Calanus, because that, having left the happiness enjoyed among them, he went to serve another master than God.



- b. Pseudo-Origen, *Philosoph.* 24, ed. Delarue, Paris, 1733, vol. I. p. 904.

There is among the Brachhmans in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Tagabena. Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul. They hold that God is light, but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity, which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as one wears the woollen surcoat, and that when it divests itself of the body with which it is enwrapped it becomes manifest to the eye. There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body where-with they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war, to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over enemies who goes to God. Dandamis accordingly, to whom Alexander the Mace-

donian paid a visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmans as a god because he conquered in the warfare against the body, and on the other hand they condemn Calanus as one who had impiously apostatized from their philosophy. The Brachhmans, therefore, when they have shuffled off the body, see the pure sunlight as fish see it when they spring up out of the water into the air.

c. Pallad. *de Bragmanibus*, pp. 8, 20 *et seq.* ed. Londin. 1668  
(*Camerar. libell. gnomolog.* pp. 116, 124 *et seq.*)

They (the Bragmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees. . . . .

“Calanus, then, your false friend, held this opinion, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Calanus, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours,—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

“We have, however, amongst us a sage called Dandamis, whose home is the woods, where he lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother.”

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president. . . . .

Onesicratês was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said, “Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes. The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and

splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer :—"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name. If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life,

since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'"

Alexander, on receiving from Onesicratês a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.

d. Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, pp. 62, 68 *et seq.* ed Pallad. Londin. 1668.

They (the Brachmans) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle.....

"Calanus is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future."

When, the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through.....

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus :—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should hasten to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt." When these words came to the ears of Dandamis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:—"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury to none, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly he alone is my

lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How, then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberoboas, nor has made the whole world his abode, nor crossed the zone of Gades, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them,—these I despise. I therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his judgement on those who injured me: for the sighs and groans of the injured become the punishments of the oppressors.

“Let Alexander threaten with this them that desire riches or fear death, both of which I despise. For Brachmans neither love gold nor dread death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:—‘Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think you need something of his, disdain not to go to him.’”

When Alexander heard these words through the interpreter, he wished the more to see such a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, was overcome by an old naked man, &c.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The Edesan Bardesanes is referred to by Prophyry as Babylonian.

<sup>2</sup> Frequent references are made by Classical writers to this practice. Pomponius Mela (III. vii. 40) thus writes: “But when old age or disease

affects them they go far away from others, and await death.....without any anxiety.....Those that are wiser.....do not await its coming, but for the sake of the glory to accrue, gladly invite it by casting themselves into a burning pyre".

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the combined image of Siva and Sakti known as Ardhanarisvara.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, says, that by his means Asia was civilized and Homer read there, and that the children of Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles.

<sup>5</sup> McCrindle adds that it appears to be a citation from Megasthenes, although the author definitely cites Alexander Polyhistor as his authority. It is a curious commentary on the tendency to ascribe to Megasthenes every ancient text whose authorship is not known.

<sup>6</sup> These were probably Jainas.

<sup>7</sup> This may be a reference to Stupas.

<sup>8</sup> This passage is, however, attributed to Aristobulus by Cyrill (M-II, 104).

<sup>9</sup> The passage may also be translated as follows: "They (the Hylobioi) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Boutta". Boutta is, of course, Buddha.

<sup>10</sup> Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen, born in Palestine, and who traded with India. In his visits to India, Scythianus acquired knowledge of Indian philosophy, and, settling afterwards in Alexandria, made himself conversant with the lore of Egypt. With the help of Terebinthus, he embodied in four books the peculiar doctrines which are said to have formed the basis of those of the Manichaeans.

## XIV. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES

### 1. Polybius.

Polybius, the historian, was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia about 204 B.C.. His *History*, which consisted of forty books, of which some are lost, has been described as the History of the growth of the Roman power to the downfall of the independence of Greece (from 220 B.C. to 146 B.C.). Polybius died at the age of 82.

XI. 34. Antiochus (the Great) received the young prince (Demetrius, son of Euthydemus), and judging from his appearance, conversation, and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal power, he first promised to give him one of his own daughters, and secondly conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up, and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemus. He crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether;<sup>1</sup> and having once more provisioned his troops set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him. Having traversed Arachosis and crossed the river Erymanthus,<sup>2</sup> he came through Drangene to Carmania; and as it was now winter, he put his men into winter quarters there.—Shuckburg's *Trans.*

### 2. PAUSANIAS.

Pausanias, who appears to have been a native of Lydia, and who belonged to the age of the Antonines, was the author of a work called *Hellados Periegesis*, that is, an Itinerary of Greece; in which the objects worth notice are described.

IV. xxxiv. The rivers of Greece do not breed animals that kill human beings like the Indus, the Egyptian Nile, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Phasis, for these rivers produce monsters the most noted for preying on human flesh and resembling in shape the shads of the Hermos and Maeander, but darker in colour and stronger. The Indus and the Nile have both of them crocodiles. The Nile has besides the hippopotamus, which is as deadly an enemy to man as the crocodile.

IV. xxxii. But I know that the Chaldaeans and the Indian

sages have asserted that the soul of man is immortal.

IX. xxi. The wild beast described in the *Indika* of Ktesias, which is called by the Indians Martikhora, and by the Greeks Androphagos (man-eater), I take to be the tiger. In each jaw it has three rows of teeth, and at the tip of its tail it is armed with stings, by which it defends itself in close fight, and which it discharges against distant foes, just like an arrow shot by an archer. This report which the Indians, it appears to me, receive by tradition, is not true, but has arisen from their dread of this ferocious beast. They have been mistaken even as to its colour, for when the tiger is seen by them in the sunlight, it appears to be all of one red colour through the speed with which it runs, or, should it not be running, through the agility with which it is ever turning its body from this to that side, especially as one cannot without risk get a near view of it.

VIII. xxix. (*From the passage which precedes the following quotation we learn that a Roman emperor, when advancing against Antioch, had dug a canal into which he diverted the waters of the river Orontes*). When the old bed had been left dry, there was found in it an earthen coffin about eleven cubits in length containing a human body, with all its parts and of the same size as the coffin. When the Syrians consulted the oracle of the Klarian Apollo, the response declared that the body was that of Orontes, and that he belonged to the Indian nation. Now if the earth in the beginning was humid and full of moisture, and, being warmed by the sun, made the first men, where in the world was there a moister country than India, or one better fitted to produce bigger men, when even to our day it breeds animals of a marvellous appearance and of extraordinary size?

III. xii. 3. Traders to India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money, even though they have gold and copper in abundance.

### 3. TOTIUS ORBIS DESCRIPTIO.

A Latin translation of a lost Greek original composed either at Antioch or Alexandria between A.D. 350 and 353.

Section 16. Next comes India Major, from which silk and all kinds of necessaries are said to be exported. Its people live like their next neighbours and spend their years agreeably, inhabiting



a country of great extent and fertility, which it takes 210 days to traverse.

17. Beyond and adjoining these is a country which is said to be inhabited by men remarkably industrious—good at fighting and at work of every kind. India Minor accordingly seek their aid as often as war is waged upon them by the Persians. They are abundantly supplied with everything, and the country they inhabit takes 150 days to traverse.

18. Beyond these lie the inhabitants of India Minor, who are governed from India Major. They have elephants without number, which they dispose of to the Persians. Their country is traversed in fifteen days.

#### 4. ANONYMI GEOGRAPHIAE EXPOSITIO COMPENDIARIA.

An unknown writer who follows Eratosthenes and Ptolemy.

VI. 24. All the rest of the continent as far as China (Thinas) is of vast extent and inhabited by many nations, and belongs to the Indians, whose dominions are bounded by the Sinae on the east, by Gedrosia on the west, by the Paropanisadae, Arachosia, the Sogdiani and Sacae, Scythia, and finally Serica<sup>3</sup> on the north.

25. To this continent belongs also an immense island in the Indian Sea, called formerly Simunda, but now Salice, which they say produces all the necessities of life and metals of all kinds. The men who inhabit it are reported to encircle their heads with tresses of hair like those of women.

#### 5. DION CASSIUS.

Dion Cassius, the grandson by the mother's side of the famous orator, Dion Chrysostom,<sup>4</sup> was born at Nicaea in Bithynia, about A.D. 155. When about twenty-five years of age he proceeded to Rome, where he twice held the consulship. He was the author of several works, of which the greatest is his *History of Rome (Romaïke Istorïa)*, contained in eighty books, which embrace the whole history down to A.D. 229. Much of the work has been lost, but the books, which still exist complete, are among the most valuable.

*Hist. Rom.* IX. 58. Many embassies came to him (Augustus), and the Indians having previously proclaimed a treaty of alliance,<sup>1</sup> concluded it now with the presentation, among other gifts, of tigers, animals which the Romans, and, if I mistake not, the Greeks as well, saw then for the first time. They gave

also a lad without arms, like the statues of Mercury one sees, but who made up for the want of hands by employing his feet, with which he could bend a bow, throw a dart, and play on the trumpet.

Dion then relates that one of the Indians, Zarmaros, burned himself, after the manner of his country, on a funeral pile, in presence of Augustus and the Athenians. Strabo, who mentions the incident, calls Zarmaros Zarmanochegas.<sup>5</sup> Florus, in his *Epitome of Roman History* (iv. 12), mentions that the ambassadors complained of the length of the journey, which occupied four years, and that among their presents were precious stones, pearls, and elephants. Florus wrote in the days of Trajan. Orosius, who flourished about 420 A.D., states in his *History* (vi. 12) that an embassy from the Scythians and the Indians reached Caesar (Augustus) at Tarraco in Hither Spain, having thus traversed the world from end to end.

And to Trajan after he had arrived in Rome there came a great many embassies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians, and he offered shows . . . . . in which wild beasts without number were slaughtered, because Trajan made the deputies who came from the kings sit in the seats of the senators when viewing the show.

LXVII. 28. He (Trajan) having reached the ocean (at the mouth of the Tigris) saw a vessel setting sail for India.

## 6. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch in Syria. He settled in Rome and there composed his "History" (fourth century A.D.).

XXII. vii. 10. Embassies from all quarters flocked to him (the Emperor Julian in 361 A.D.), the Indian nations vying with emulous zeal in sending their foremost men with presents, as far as from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Cylonese).

## 7. SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR.

This historian was of humble origin, but, by the cultivation of literature, rose even to the consular office. He flourished in the middle of the fourth century under the Emperor Constantius and his successors. He was the author of a work *De Caesaribus*, consisting of short biographies of the emperors from Augustus to Constantius. The quotation given below is from an *Epitome* of Victor.

*Epit.* XVI. Yea, even the Indians, Bactrians, Hyrc-

nians sent ambassadors, having had knowledge of the justice of a prince so mighty (of the Emperor Julian).

### 8. JOANNES MALALA.

Malala was a native of Antioch and a Byzantine historian. He wrote subsequently to the death of Justinian, but how long after that event is not known. His *History* is full of absurd stories, but is valuable for the history of Justinian and his immediate predecessors.

P. 477. At the same time (A.D. 530) an ambassador of the Indians was sent to Constantinople.

### 9. APPIAN

Appian flourished early in the second century A.D.

*De Bell. Civ.* V. 9. They (the people of Palmyra) being merchants, bring from Persia to Arabia Indian commodities, which they dispose of to the Romans.

### 10. EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI.

Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea, the Father of Ecclesiastical History, was born in Palestine in the year A.D. 264. While attending the Nicene Council, he sat at the right hand of Constantine the Great. He died, three years after the death of the emperor, in 340. We are indebted to him for the notice of the mission of Pantainos to India.

*De Vita Constant.* IV. 50. Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents . . . . . which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great) as an acknowledgment that his sovereignty extended to their ocean. They told him, too, how the Princes of India had dedicated pictures and statues in his honour in token that they recognised him as their autocrat and king.<sup>6</sup>

*E.H.* V. 10. They say that he (Pantainos)<sup>7</sup> showed such a zeal for the divine word that he was consecrated to preach the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, being sent all the way to the Indians. For there were even up till that time many evangelists of the word<sup>8</sup>, who, with a holy zeal of imitating the Apostles, sought to contribute to the spread and upbuilding of the divine word. One of these was Pantainos, and he is said to have gone to the Indians. There, report says, he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had been introduced before his arrival,

and was in the hands of some of the natives, who acknowledged Christ, and to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and left with them that Gospel written in the Hebrew character and preserved to this day.<sup>9</sup>

### 11. PROPERTIUS.

Sextus Propertius was the greatest of the Elegiac poets of Rome. His poems as they have come down to us consist of four books containing 4046 lines of elegiac verse. He flourished in the first half of the first century B.C.

Book. IV. Elegy 3.—Thee but now did Bactra see *marching* through the traversed and retraversed east—thee but now the Seric foe on his armed steed and the wintry Getae and Britannia in her painted battle-car, and the sun-scorched tawny Indian on his orient steed.<sup>10</sup>

### 12. HORACE.

Horace, the famous Roman poet, was born in 65 B.C. and composed his *Odes* about 24 B.C.

*Odes*. I. 12. He (Augustus) whether he drives along in proper triumph the Parthians.....or the Seres and Indians who dwell hard by the confines of the East.....shall rule with equity the wide world.

*Odes*. I. 22. The regions which Hydaspes laves, the river of romance.

*Odes*. III. 24. Although possessed of wealth beyond the untouched treasures of the Arabs and opulent India.

*Odes*. IV. 14. You (Augustus) the Cantabrians.....revere and the Medes and the Indians.

*Epistles*. I. 6. What deem you of.....the gifts of the sea which enriches the far distant Arabs and Indians?

### 13. VIRGIL.

Virgil, the great Roman poet and author of the *Georgics* (composed between 37 and 30 B.C.) and *Aeneid* (finished in 19 B.C.).

*Georg.* I. 57. India produces ivory.

*Georg.* II. 116-17. India alone produces black ebony.

*Georg.* II. 122-24. Why speak of.....the forests which India bears hard by the Ocean—the utmost corner of the world-

forests where no shot of the arrow can reach the sky that tops the trees, and the natives are not slow when they take up the quiver ?

*Georg.* II. 136-39. But neither Median forests, wealthiest of climes, nor lovely Ganges, nor Hermus, whose mud is gold, may vie with the glories of Italy. No, nor Bactra, nor India, nor Panchaia, with all the richness of its incense-bearing sands.

*Aeneid.* IX. 30-31. Like Ganges with his seven calm streams proudly rising through the silence.<sup>11</sup>

#### 14. PHLEGON.

An extract from the book *On Marvels* by Phlegon, of Tralles in Asia Minor, a Greek writer who flourished in the second century A.D.

**Megasthenes** says that the women of the Pandaian realm bear children when they are six years of age.<sup>12</sup>

#### 15. NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS.

Nicolaus Damascenus, Greek historian and philosopher of Damascus, flourished in the time of Augustus. The two following passages are preserved by Johannes Stobaios, mentioned above (*Stob.* *Serm.* 42).

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue.<sup>13</sup>

He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous.<sup>14</sup>

#### 16. ATHENAEUS.

Athenaeus (of Naucratis in Egypt), Greek rhetorician and grammarian (2nd-3rd century A.D.), author of *Deipnosophistae* or authorities on banquets.

IV. p. 153. **Megasthenes**, in the second book of his *Indica*, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts.<sup>15</sup>

#### 17. POLYAENUS.

**Polyaenus**, a Macedonian (second century A.D.), lived at Rome and wrote a book called *Strategica* or *Strategemata*, a historical collection of stratagems.

I. 1. 1-3. Dionysos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionysos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Korasibiê, another Kondaskê, but to the third he himself gave the name of Mêros, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruits in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

Dionysos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Saranges. The Baktrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionysos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionysos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety. <sup>10</sup>

I. 3. 4. Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose

turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.<sup>17</sup>

## 18. SOLINUS.

Gaius Julius Solinus, Latin grammarian and compiler (first half of the third century A.D.), was the author of *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, a description of curiosities in a chorographical framework.

52. 5. Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153.<sup>18</sup>

52. 6-17. The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected *on its banks* prove.]

The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Gangarides, whose king possesses 1000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits

a city called Palibotra, whence some call the nation itself the Palibotri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Palibotra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings.

The Pandæan nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.<sup>10</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This important and interesting episode of Indian history is known only from this passage.

<sup>2</sup> The Helmund in Kandahar. It is also called Erymandros and Etymandros by Classical writers.

<sup>3</sup> Sinæ and Serica probably refer, respectively, to South-East and North-West China.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 431.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 282.

<sup>6</sup> This embassy reached Constantinople in the last year of the Emperor Constantine the Great, 336-7 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> Pantainos, who seems to have been of Sicilian parentage, was educated, if not also born, in Alexandria. The principles of Stoicism, which he first embraced, he abandoned for those of Christianity. In A.D. 181 he was appointed Head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. He was alive in A.D. 211.

<sup>8</sup> Some prefer to translate 'Teachers of the Gospel'.



\* St. Jerome states that Pantainos, on returning from India to Alexandria, brought with him the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. But Eusebios does not say so; he merely says that the Gospel was in existence when Pantainos was in India.

<sup>10</sup> The passage is very obscure.

<sup>11</sup> The passages in sections 1-13 are reproduced from M-V, pp. 209-16.

<sup>12</sup> M-II, 114.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 73-4.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 157-8.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 158-9.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 154-6.



## APPENDIX I

### Megasthenes

#### I. *Life*

All the information that we possess about Megasthenes is derived from a few incidental notices by Strabo, Arrian, Pliny and Clemens Alexandrinus. According to these, he lived with Seleucus Nicator, and with Sibyrtius, the Satrap of Arachosia. He was sent on an embassy to King Sandrocottus, i.e. the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, who lived in the city of Palimbothra, i.e. Pataliputra (modern Patna). He often visited the Indian King, but there is no warrant for the assertion that he visited India more than once. He also met King Porus whom he regarded as even greater than Chandragupta. Megasthenes wrote a book on India, called *Indika*, which served as a source of information to many later Classical writers.<sup>1</sup> McCrindle translates a passage of Arrian (above, p. 218) to the effect that Megasthenes resided at the courts of both Chandragupta and Porus, but this is perhaps inaccurate, as others have translated the passage to mean that 'Megasthenes met them'.<sup>2</sup> McCrindle himself translates the same passage elsewhere to mean that Megasthenes "often visited" these two kings,<sup>3</sup> though there seems to be no warrant for the use of the word "often" in the translation of this passage.

The exact time of the visit of Megasthenes to India and the duration of his stay there cannot be determined with certainty. It is generally held that he came as an ambassador after the conclusion of the treaty between Chandragupta and Seleucus. According to this view he must have been in India shortly before 300 B.C.<sup>3a</sup>

#### II. *The Indika of Megasthenes*

The *Indika* of Megasthenes has not been included in the texts printed in this volume. The reason is obvious. The text of the *Indika* has not yet come to light, and what now passes current under that name is really a collection of passages supposed to be quoted from this book by later writers. All these passages (excluding accounts of the fabulous men and animals and some other topics which throw no light on the history and culture of India) will be found under these later authors. For the sake of

convenience the name of Megasthenes, wherever mentioned in these passages, has been printed in thick types, so that readers may have no difficulty in locating the passages quoted from, or based on, the authority of the *Indika* of Megasthenes.

The German scholar Dr. Schwanbeck rendered a great service by bringing together all the passages of the lost treatise which have survived in quotations by later classical writers. The English translation of Dr. Schwanbeck's collected fragments of *Indika* by J. W. McCrindle has made this book familiar to all students of ancient Indian history. For nearly a century they have made full use of this first-hand account of India written by an eyewitness at the beginning of the Maurya period, i.e., towards the end of the fourth century B.C.

Dr. Schwanbeck, and following him McCrindle, have arranged these passages, called by them Fragments, in serial numbers. The Table at the end of this Appendix gives a list of these Fragments together with the corresponding pages in this book where they occur. This will enable the readers to find out easily any Fragment of the *Indika* of Megasthenes included in McCrindle's translation, which is frequently referred to as a source book of considerable importance. In view of this it is necessary to consider the question whether all these Fragments did really form a part of the long-lost *Indika* of Megasthenes.

When the study of Indology was at its infancy, one could not be expected to be very critical of the few sources of first-rate importance then available to him. Schwanbeck's reconstruction of Megasthenes' *Indika* was therefore accepted without criticism, and this mental attitude, by sheer inertia, has persisted among the students of ancient Indian history even today.<sup>4</sup>

But the progress of Indological studies has rendered it necessary to subject many of the old accepted notions to a searching criticism, and among these should be included the genuineness of the *Indika* of Megasthenes, as reconstructed by Schwanbeck, and rendered familiar by McCrindle's translation into English.

The passages which Dr. Schwanbeck has accepted as "Fragments" of the *Indika* may be divided into four classes :

I. The passages in the works of later writers which are explicitly attributed to Megasthenes.

II. Passages closely resembling those under I, though not specifically attributed to Megasthenes.

III. Passages preceding or following those under I or II.

IV. Long passages including, incidentally, those under I, or II-III.

The figure in the last column of the Table at the end of this Appendix shows the class to which the corresponding Fragment belongs.

Now there can be no doubt that the passages of categories I and II formed part of the *Indika* of Megasthenes. But the same cannot be said of the other passages belonging to categories III and IV.

Fragments of category IV must naturally be viewed with great suspicion. For, in the first place, we have no reasonable grounds to believe that they were derived from the *Indika* of Megasthenes. Secondly, in some cases at least, we have ample evidence to prove that they could not possibly be derived from that work.

A typical instance of the second type of category IV is furnished by the very first Fragment, from the History of Diodorus (II. 35-42), which Schwanbeck has labelled as "An Epitome of Megasthenes." Now, it is a notable fact that in this long extract, extending over 14 printed pages, the name of Megasthenes is conspicuous by its absence.

Although this passage of Diodorus contains a few extracts of category II, it seems more likely to be a compilation from many sources; at least there is no ground to suppose that he depended solely, or even mainly, upon Megasthenes, far less, intended to give a summary of his work. If such had been the case we could certainly expect a reference to the name or authority of Megasthenes. The English translator of the work of Diodorus was constrained to observe: "It cannot be known whether Diodorus used Megasthenes directly or through a medium; his failure to mention his name a single time is a little surprising, if he used him directly."<sup>5</sup>

The theory that Diodorus used Megasthenes through a medium may explain the omission of Megasthenes' name, but certainly reduces, to a very considerable extent, the value of the account as a genuine source of information based on the *Indika* of Megasthenes alone.

But even if we assume that Diodorus derived his knowledge of the *Indika* from other books, there are good grounds to believe that he had relied on sources other than the *Indika*. The statement that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges<sup>6</sup> may be cited

diately by a long account of elephants and other animals, which, as Strabo himself says (p. 266), was based on "both Megasthenes and others". It is, therefore, unsafe to take this supplementary note on the seventh caste also as based on the *Indika* of Megasthenes. It is true that Strabo does not make any similar statement that it was derived from others. But there was no occasion for it. In the case of paras 42-45, they were really a digression, coming between two parts of a statement derived from Megasthenes; but para 49 having concluded that statement, the paras that follow, not being a digression in any way, needed no such comment or explanation. Further, Strabo's statement that in his account of the hunters, i.e. the third caste, he mentioned what both Megasthenes and others have said (p. 266), makes it doubtful whether the details of each caste are wholly derived from Megasthenes. Attention may be drawn in this connection to substantial difference in details given by Strabo and Diodorus of the second, fourth, and sixth castes. These differences are of such a nature that it is difficult to hold that both derived their information from Megasthenes alone.

Special interest attaches to this Fragment, for it contains an account of the Municipal and Military Boards of Administration. Very important conclusions have been drawn from this Fragment regarding the state of things in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, and it has figured prominently in the discussion of the genuineness of the text of the *Arthashastra*, attributed to Kautilya. In particular, the absence of any reference to the Municipal and Military Boards in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has been put forward as a strong argument against accepting that work as belonging to the time of Chandragupta Maurya. In view of such great importance naturally attaching to any statement of Megasthenes, we must be very cautious in attributing to Megasthenes any passage for which his name or authority is not specifically cited.

It might be argued that as Megasthenes lived at Pataliputra, the accounts of the eastern parts of Northern India, as given by the classical writers, were most probably based on his *Indika*. But Arrian quite clearly tells us that "a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouth and the city of Palimbothra."<sup>13</sup> Thus there were other sources of information about Palimbothra (Pataliputra) and the neighbouring region than the *Indika* of Megasthenes.

Dr. Schwanbeck, consciously or unconsciously, makes the

tacit assumption that the *Indika* of Megasthenes gave the most elaborate and reliable account of India, and the subsequent classical writers drew so largely upon it, that one may be excused in regarding their account as based on Megasthenes, unless otherwise stated. McCrindle goes even a step further. Thus although Clemens Alexandrinus refers to Alexander Polyhistor, specifically by name, as his authority for the passage quoted above, on p. 439, McCrindle states in his Introductory remarks that it "appears to be a citation from Megasthenes".<sup>14</sup> Schwanbeck's assumption is belied by the fact that the classical writers themselves had no great faith in the veracity of Megasthenes and did not put a very high value on his *Indika*. How far this view was just or not, it is immaterial for our present purpose to decide. But the existence of such a general belief should make us hesitate to refer all that they said, without any specific mention of the source, to the authority of Megasthenes.

This brings us to the question of the veracity of Megasthenes. Schwanbeck very rightly observes: "The ancient writers, whenever they judge of those who have written on Indian matters, are without doubt wont to reckon Megasthenes among those writers who are given to lying and least worthy of credit, and to rank him almost on a par with Ktesias. The foremost among those who disparage him is Eratosthenes, and in open agreement with him are Strabo and Pliny".<sup>15</sup>

The relevant passage of Strabo reads as follows: "However, all who have written about India have proved themselves, for the most part, fabricators, but pre-eminently so Deimachus; the next in order is Megasthenes; and then, Onesicritus, and Nearchus, . . . . But specially do Deimachus and Megasthenes deserve to be distrusted".<sup>16</sup>

Pliny also says, with reference to Megasthenes and Dionysius, that "it is not worth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they and incredible".<sup>17</sup> Schwanbeck's comments on these observations are interesting. He says: "The fact is they find fault with only two parts of the narrative of Megasthenes,—the one in which he writes of the fabulous races of India, and the other where he gives an account of Herakles and the Indian Dionysus; although it so happens that on other matters also they regarded the account given by others as true, rather than that of Megasthenes."<sup>18</sup> The first part of this comment is unwarranted, and is contradicted by the last part.

Schwanbeck takes great pains to show that the stories of fabulous races written by Megasthenes were of Indian origin. He then observes :

"The relative veracity of Megasthenes, then, cannot be questioned, for he related truthfully both what he actually saw, and what was told him by others."<sup>19</sup> In support of this Schwanbeck has cited the passage in Arrian's *Indika* (above, p. 231), in which Megasthenes is referred to as a man of approved character. It is, however, curious that Schwanbeck does not refer to the views of Arrian, quoted above,<sup>20</sup> in which he clearly says that no true account of India beyond the Hyphasis is known, since the account of Megasthenes is absolutely unreliable; and he supports this by mentioning the latter's description of the river Silas. Again, referring to the statement of Megasthenes 'that the Indian tribes number in all 118,' Arrian makes the very apposite comment : "I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes."<sup>21</sup> Again Arrian says : "Megasthenes avers that the tradition about (gold-digging) ants is strictly true," and very correctly observes : "Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay."<sup>22</sup> Megasthenes may certainly be excused, as Schwanbeck has argued, for recording "truthfully both what he actually saw, and what was told him by others." But when Megasthenes does not evidently distinguish between the two, and 'avers as strictly true' what he merely 'heard' from others, we may certainly be sceptical about the real value of his accounts. Besides, it is obvious from the way in which he has recorded the most unnatural phenomena and incredible tales about men and animals, without any comment, that he did not possess a very high degree of critical judgment such as we find, for example, in the writings of Arrian and Strabo. It is to be seriously considered how far we can place absolute reliance on the statements of such an uncritical man, even if they were based on his own observations. This particularly applies to his description of social manners which would be in any case difficult for a foreigner to comprehend rightly even if he had a higher degree of critical ability than Megasthenes possessed. His description of the seven castes, which are unknown to Indian literature or tradition, may be cited as an example, where, on a few basic facts, he has reared up a scheme which is mostly inaccurate and misleading. On the whole, time has surely come when we must make a re-assessment



of the nature and value of the *Indika* of Megasthenes as a source of our knowledge regarding ancient Indian history and culture.

In the light of what has been said above, it would appear that the passages bearing upon the history and culture of India that may be confidently referred to the authority of Megasthenes may be listed as follows :

1. The geographical features of India quoted by Arrian and Strabo (pp. 216-8, 248), and a short account of Taprobane (p. 345).
2. The fertility of India 'which produces fruit and grain twice a year' (p. 252).
3. The description of Pataliputra (pp. 224, 262).
4. The absence of slavery in India (p. 224, 271).
5. The division of the people into seven castes (pp. 224-6, 236-8, 263-8).
6. Theft was of rare occurrence (p. 270).
7. The men of the Caucasus having intercourse with the women in the open (p. 271).
8. Description of Indian supper (p. 455).
9. Description of Indian philosophers (pp. 273-4, 439).
10. The statement that the "Indians neither invade other men, nor do the other men invade the Indians" (pp. 218, 245).
11. The assertion that the women of the Pandaian realm bear children when they are six years of age (p. 455).
12. The Indian tribes number in all 118 (p. 220).
13. The legendary account of the parts played by Dionysus and Heracles in India (pp. 220-22).

As regards other passages included in Schwanbeck's (and McCrindle's) *Indika* of Megasthenes, their authenticity is highly doubtful, and it may be justly questioned whether one should regard them as emanating from Megasthenes. Among these the most important are :

1. Fragment I (the so-called "Epitome of Megasthenes" by Diodorus) except the topics or passages included in the above list (pp. 232 ff).

2. The major part of Fragment XXVII describing the manners and customs of the Indians (pp. 269-72, paras 53-56), excluding Nos. 4, 6, 7 mentioned above.

3. Fragment XXXIV (pp. 268-9, paras 50-52) describing the Municipal and Military Boards of Administration.<sup>28</sup>

Passages from the Indika of Megasthenes collected by McCrindle.<sup>24</sup>

Number of fragments (McCrindle)	Source	Subjectmatter	Reference to page in this volume	Category
I	Diodorus Siculus (II. 35-42)	General	232-8	IV
IB	-do- (III. 63)	Dionusos	239	IV
II	Arrian—Anabasis (V. 6. 2-11)	Boundaries of India	26-7	II, III
III	-do- Indica (II. I. 7)	-do-	215	IV
IV	Strabo—Geography (I. II)	-do-	247-8	II
V	-do- (II. I. 7)		283	I
VI	-do- (XV. I. 12)	-do-	248-9	I
VII	-do- (II. I. 4)	-do-	283	I
VIII	Arrian—Indica (III. 7. 8)	-do-	216	I
IX	Strabo (II. 1. 19)	Setting of the Bear	Omitted	I
X	Pliny, Hist. Nat. (VI. 22. 6)	-do-	"	I, IV
XI	Strabo (XV. 1. 20)	Fertility of India	252-3	I
XII	-do- (XV. I. 37)	Wild beasts	263	I
XIII	Aelian (XVII. 39)	Indian apes	Omitted	I
XIIIB	-do- (XVI. 10)	-do-	"	IV
XIV	-do- (XVI. 41)	Winged Scorpions	"	I
XV	Strabo (XV. 1. 56)	Beasts of India	271-2	I
XVB	Aelian (XVI. 20, 21)	-do-	Omitted	IV
XVI	Pliny (VIII. 14. 1)	Boa-Constrictor	"	I
XVII	Aelian (VIII. 7)	Electric Eel	"	I
XVIII	Pliny (VI. 24. 1)	Taprobane	345	I
XIX	Antigon. Caryst. 647	Marine Trees	Omitted	I
XX	Arrian—Indica (4.2-13)	The Indus and the Ganges	217	I
XXB	Pliny (VI. 21. 9-22. 1)	Revers	341	IV
XXI	Arrian—Indica (6. 2-3)	River Silas	219	I
XXII	Boissonade (1. 419)	-do-	Omitted	I
XXIII	Strabo (XV. 1-38)	-do-	263	I
XXIV	Arrian—Indica (5.2)	Indian Rivers	218	I

XXV	Strabo (XV. 1. 35-36)	Pataliputra	262	I
XXVI	Arrian—Indica (10)	Manners of Indians	223-4	I
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## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> M-II, 13-4.

<sup>2</sup> E. I. Robson's Translation, II. 319.

<sup>3</sup> M-II, 14.

<sup>4</sup> M-II, 16. The death of Chandragupta Maurya is now generally placed about 300 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> B. C. J. Timmer has discussed this question in her doctoral dissertation entitled "Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij" (Amsterdam, 1930). She has not, however, gone very deeply into this subject.

<sup>6</sup> "Diodorus of Sicily"—English translation by C. H. Oldfather (1935). See Introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 262.

<sup>9</sup> Above, p. 232.

<sup>10</sup> Above, p. 216. It may be noted that both Schwanbeck and McCrindle regarded it as certain "that 16,000 stadia is the only measure Megasthenes gave of the breadth of India" (M-II, 48, footnote).

<sup>11</sup> Above, p. 232.

<sup>12</sup> Above, p. 217.

<sup>13</sup> M-II, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Above, p. 216.

<sup>15</sup> M-V, 183.

<sup>16</sup> M-II, 18.

<sup>17</sup> Translation by H. L. Jones, I. 263.

<sup>18</sup> M-II, 21.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> M-II, 26.

<sup>21</sup> Above, p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> Above, p. 220.

<sup>23</sup> Above, p. 229.

<sup>24</sup> This Appendix is based upon my paper "The Indika of Megasthenes" published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume 78, number 4 (1958), pp. 273-6.

<sup>25</sup> In the cases of some Fragments, column IV is left blank as they cannot be placed under any category. It is difficult to understand on what grounds they were regarded as based on the *Indika* of Megasthenes.

## APPENDIX II

### Indian Embassy to Augustus.

Along with his account of the Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana (above, pp. 383-412) Priaulx published a critical account of the several embassies sent from India to Rome, noted by classical writers. His dissertation on the Indian Embassy to Augustus, the first and the most important one, is reproduced below. Cf. accounts of embassies given by Strabo and Dion Cassius and miscellaneous notices about them (above, pp. 282, 451-53).

#### ON THE INDIAN EMBASSY TO AUGUSTUS.

NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS, in a fragment preserved by Strabo, relates that at Antioch Epidaphne he fell in with three Indian ambassadors, then on their way to the court of Augustus. They were, as their letter showed, the survivors of a larger embassy, to the other members of which the length of the journey principally had proved fatal. Their letter was written on parchment and in the name of Porus and in Greek. It set forth that Porus, though lord over six hundred kings, much valued the friendship of, and was ready to open his dominions to, Caesar, and to assist him on all just and lawful occasions. The presents they brought with them were in the charge of eight well-anointed slaves naked all but their girdles, and consisted of a youth whose arms had been amputated at the shoulders in childhood, a sort of Hermes, some large vipers, a snake ten cubits long, a river tortoise of four cubits, and a partridge somewhat larger than a vulture. With the ambassadors was that Indian, who burned himself at Athens—not to escape from present ills, but because, hitherto successful in everything he had undertaken, he now feared, lest any longer life should bring him misery and disappointment; and so smiling, naked and perfumed, he leaped into the burning pile. On his tomb was placed this inscription :—

“Here lies Zarmanochegas, of Bargosa, who according to the ancestral custom of the Hindus gave himself immortality.”

In this narrative, the king of kings Porus, the Greek letter, the beggerly presents better suited to a juggler's booth than to the court of a great sovereign, strike us with surprise; and we ask whether an Indian, or what purported to be an Indian Embassy, and such an embassy as described by Damascenus, ever presented itself to Augustus, and by whom and from what part of India it could have been sent?

To this Indian Embassy, Horace, a contemporary, in more than one ode, exultingly and with some little exaggeration alludes, and to it Strabo almost a contemporary a second time refers, when in opening his account of India he laments the scantiness of his materials; that so few Greeks, and those but ignorant traders and incapable of any just observation, had reached the Ganges; and that from India but one embassy to Augustus from one place and from one king Pandion or Porus had visited Europe. Of later writers who mention it, Florus (A.D. 110, 117) states "that the ambassadors were four years on the road and that their presents were of elephants, pearls, and precious stones", and Suetonius (A.D. 120, 130) attributes it to the fame of Augustus' moderation and virtues, which allured Indians and Scythians to seek his alliance and that of the Roman people. Dio Cassius (A.D. 194) speaks of it at length; he tells, that "at Samos (B.C. 22, 20) many embassies came to Augustus, and that the Indians, having before proclaimed, then and there concluded, a treaty of alliance with him, that among their gifts were tigers now seen for the first time by Romans and even Greeks, and a youth without arms like a statue of Hermes, but as expert with his feet as other people with their hands, for with them he could bend a bow, throw a javelin, and play the Trumpet". Dio then goes on to say that "one of the Indians, Zarmaros, whether because he was of the Sophists and therefore out of emulation, or whether because he was old and it was the custom of his country, or whether as a show for the Athenians and Augustus who had gone to Athens, expressed his determination of putting an end to his existence. And having been first initiated in the mysteries of the two Gods held out of their due course for the initiation of Augustus, he afterwards threw himself into the burning pile."

Hieronymus (A.D. 380) in his translation of the Canon Chronicon of Eusebius just notices an Indian Embassy to Augustus, but places it in the third year of the 188th Olympiad, or B.C. 26. And Orosius, a native of Tarragona (early part of the 5th century), relates, that "an Indian and a Scythian Embassy traversed the whole world, and found Caesar at Tarragona, in Spain", and with some rhetorical flourish, then observes, "that just as in Babylon Alexander received deputations from Spain and the Gauls, so now Augustus in the furthest west was approached with gifts by suppliant Indian and Scythian Ambassadors". From these authorities, I think we may safely conclude, that an Indian Embassy, or

what purported to be an Indian Embassy, was received by Augustus.

But while we allow that our authorities are applicable to, or certainly not irreconcilable with, Damascenus' embassy which Augustus received at Samos, 22-20 B.C., we cannot but observe that St. Jerome's is referred to the year 26 B.C. and that Orosius brings it to Tarragona, whither Augustus had gone 27 B.C. and where he was detained till 24 B.C. by the Cantabrian war. Hence a difficulty, which Casaubon and others have endeavoured to remove by assuming two Indian Embassies; the one at Tarragona to treat of peace, the other at Samos to ratify the peace agreed upon. But—not to mention that this preliminary embassy is unknown to the earlier writers, who all so exult in the so-called second embassy that they scarcely would have failed to notice the first—I would first remark that no author whatever speaks of two Indian Embassies. And I would secondly refer to the ambassadorial letter of which Damascenus has preserved the contents, and in which we find no allusion to any previous contract or agreement between the two sovereigns, but simply an offer on the part of the Hindu prince to open his country to the subjects and citizens of Rome in the person of Caesar. Surely then, than this embroglio of embassies which come to sue for peace where war was impossible, it is more natural to suppose that Jerome, a careless writer, misdated his embassy; and that Orosius, a friend and pupil of Jerome, finding that the date in Jerome tallied with Caesar's expedition to Spain, seized the opportunity both of illustrating his native town and of instituting a comparison between Augustus and Alexander the Great. I think we may rest content with one embassy.

But is Damascenus' account of this embassy a trustworthy and faithful account? Strabo evidently gives credit to it, and to some extent confirms it by stating that the Hermes he himself had seen and in another place, while he attributes our embassy to a Pandion rather than a Porus, he still connects it with the Indian who burned himself at Athens. Plutarch in noticing the self-cremation of Calanus, Alexander's Gymnosophist, adds, that many years afterwards at Athens another Indian in the suite of Augustus similarly put an end to his life, and that his monument is still known as the Indian's tomb. Horace, Florus, and Suetonius, give indeed another character and other objects to the embassy, but write too loosely to be authorities for any fact not reconcilable



with the narrative of Damascenus. With that narrative Dio Cassius, too, in the main agrees; but as he specifies tigers, a truly royal gift, and unknown to Damascenus, as among the Indian presents, he gives us an opportunity of testing his and Damascenus' accuracy. For he affirms that the tigers of the embassy were the first ever seen by Romans. Now Suetonius mentions it as a trait of Augustus, that he was ever so ready to gratify the people with the sight of rare or otherwise remarkable animals, that he would exhibit them "extra ordinem", out of due course and on ordinary days and that in this way he exhibited a tiger on the stage. And Pliny states that "a tame tiger" (and other than tame tigers our ambassadors would scarcely carry about with them) "was shown in Rome for the first time at the consecration of the Theatre of Marcellus (the *in scena* of Suetonius) in the Nones of May and during the consulships of Q. Tubero and Fabius Maximus, or in the year 11 B.C. i.e. nine years after the date of our embassy, and therefore, a tiger presented by it. The evidence of Dio Cassius on this point is then, to say the least of it, unsupported, and we see no reason to believe that tigers were among the Indian gifts. We thus find the account of Damascenus confirmed in several particulars, and in none satisfactorily impugned. We accept the Indian Sophist, we accept the Hermes, we accept the beggarly presents, and because we accept so much we accept also the Greek letter, and the Pandyan or Puru, king of kings; for we believe, as Strabo also evidently believed, that what Damascenus wrote, he wrote from his own knowledge. But how then explain what is so at variance with our established notions?

Lassen, in that great Encyclopaedia of Hindu literature, the "*Indische Alterthmskunde*", evidently struck by the good faith of Damascenus' narrative, has endeavoured to smooth down the difficulties attached to it. The six hundred subject kings he sets down to evident exaggeration, but he identifies the Porus of the embassy with the Paurava king, who at the beginning of our era on the death of Kadphises II founded an independent kingdom in the western Punjab. This Prince he observes was a serpent worshipper, and as a serpent worshipper would naturally look upon the sacred reptile as a fit offering to a brother sovereign. He accounts: for the presents, by suggesting that the more valuable of them the ambassadors had sold on the road: and for the Greek letter, by supposing that it was obtained from some Greek scribe,

and substituted for the royal credentials.

This explanation, however ingenious, is scarcely satisfactory. For,

1st. Even supposing that our ambassadors had procured a Greek version of the royal letter, yet as Damascenus expressly states that their letter was in Greek, not translated, it follows that they must have suppressed the original and substituted for it what may or may not have been a translation, i.e. we must suppose them guilty of the gravest crime which can be laid to the charge of ambassadors, the falsification of their credentials.

2ndly. Allowing our Porus to have been a serpent-worshipper, was he therefore likely to approach an unknown ally with one of his pet gods, and such a god! as an offering? I have never heard that the old Egyptian Pharaohs, in reciprocating civilities with any neighbouring king, ever presented him with some well-grown crocodile, or a case of beetles with their appropriate garniture. But let the serpent pass. You have still to account for the vipers and the tortoise. And if you allege in apology that these were but the dregs and refuse of a once richly freighted embassy, and that all that was of value, the pearls and spices, had been sold: then as it could only have been sold under the pressure of want, you have to show that under the circumstances the pressure of want was probable. Now, though the journey before our ambassadors was long and perhaps dangerous, it was over no strange and untrodden country, but along the most ancient route in the world, frequented by caravans, with many stopping places well known and at ascertained distances, it is scarcely credible then that they should set out otherwise than provided against all contingencies, as well-provided at least as the merchants whom they probably accompanied, and scarcely credible that they should have actually suffered from want. But may not the troubles which then harassed the Parthian Empire have delayed their progress, lengthened their journey, and thus increased its expenses? Yes, but as those troubles were now of long standing, they appear surely rather as a reason against the setting out of the embassy than as one for its miserable plight on arrival.

3rdly. The Paurava Prince to whom Lassen would ascribe this embassy, obtained his throne only after the death of Kadphises II, and in the beginning of our era. And as Kadphises conquered India, more properly the Punjab and Kabulistan, according to Lassen himself about 24 B.C. and died about 10 B.C.

and as our embassy met Augustus at Samos 22, 20 B.C. it very evidently could not be the embassy of the Paurava Prince. And it could hardly have represented either Kadphises or the King whom Kadphises dethroned : because it is improbable that Kadphises in any transaction with a foreign sovereign would appear disguised under a Hindu name; and very improbable that either the king who had just conquered a kingdom, or the king who was on the point of losing one, should occupy himself with embassies not of a political but of a purely commercial character, and for an object which the very countries that separated him from Rome rendered impossible.

But how then account for all that surprises us in this embassy ?

What do we gather from Damascenus' narrative ?

I. He met our ambassadors at Antioch Epidaphne. Now Antioch Epidaphne is so situated that it is just as probable they arrived there on the road to Greece from the western coast of the Indian Peninsula, either by way of the Red Sea and Alexandria or the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, as by the mid-Asiatic route and from the Punjab.

II. Damascenus speaks of a native of Bargosa as accompanying or attached to the embassy, and though he states that the ambassadorial letter was written in the name of Porus, Strabo rather attributes it to a Pandion : and as Barygaza is a trading town at the mouth of the Nerbudda on the Indian coast, and Pandya a kingdom extending along the Western shores of the Indian Peninsula, to the Western coast of India I conclude with Strabo that the embassy probably belongs.

III. This native of Bargosa or Bargaza, Sanscrit Varikatcha (Julien), is described as a Hindu, and bears a name Zarmanos Chegan, Sanscrit Sramanakarja, i.e. Teacher of the Shamans, which points him out as of the Buddhist faith and a priest, and as his death proves, a priest earnest in his faith. His companions then were probably not Hindus also, and perhaps Buddhists and the representatives of a Hindu and possibly a Buddhist prince.

IV. The wretched presents—the Greek letter—the sort of doubt which hangs over the name and country of the prince, are all indicative not of the sovereign of a great kingdom but of the petty raja of some commercial town or insignificant district.

V. The presents not unsuited to the tastes of Augustus, and the Greek letter and its purely commercial tone, indicate that

our embassy was planned and organized by Greek traders, and more for Greek than Hindu interests.

VI. This embassy is conceivable only under the supposition that, if it forwarded the interests of the Greeks who planned it, it also benefited the Hindu prince who was induced to lend it his name.

But who was this Prince? who these Greeks? and what their common interests? The prince and his residence we are unable to identify. There is nothing in the reptiles of the presents, larger indeed in Guzerat but common to the whole western coast of India, which can enable us to fix on the locale of the embassy. If we turn to the name of the prince, we find that he is a Porus in the ambassadorial letter, but had become Pandion when Strabo wrote and the Peninsula was better known. A Puru of the Punjab we have seen that in all probability he was not; and I do not understand how he could well have been a Pandyan; because Pandya was a great and powerful sovereign and of the Saiva faith, the most bigoted of the Hindu forms of religion and was not likely therefore either to have initiated a commercial alliance with a foreign state, or to have initiated it by such an embassy as ours. D'Anville suggests that he was a Rana of Ougein who claimed a descent from Porus. But surely a descent from Porus, real or pretended, is not in itself sufficient to identify our prince, unless it can be shown that like the Pandiyans and the Guptas he attached to his own name that of his ancestors, used it as a family name and in all public documents styled himself son of Puru. Besides, it seems to me that Ougein is too far inland to have already come into direct contact with Greek traders, and to have known anything of Augustus and the Roman Empire. To recur then to our narrative, it records the name of one Indian town, Bargaosa or Barygaza. And in the neighbourhood of Barygaza, and indeed throughout the Northern part of the Peninsula, statues and temples of Buddha are still seen, which indicate that there formerly Buddhism was certainly recognised, perhaps flourished, and was on the ascendant. Barygaza besides being situated at the mouth of a great river, was, when the Periplus was written, a place of considerable trade, the great and legal mart for the commerce of the West, a city therefore which would probably avail itself with eagerness of any opportunity for assuring its friendly relations with its great customer, Rome; and to it I should be inclined to refer our embassy. But when we remem-

ber that Damascenus miscalls it, and that Strabo copies and does not correct him and never himself notices the place, we may well doubt whether in the times we are speaking of it was frequented by Greeks, or better known to them than the other commercial ports on the same part of the coast. And except that one of its citizens was in the ambassadorial suite, I do not think it can show any special claim to our embassy.

Who our Greeks were we may more accurately determine. After the destruction of the Persian Empire, the two great Western marts for the produce of India were Palmyra and Alexandria. But with regard to Palmyra—

I. Its distance from the Peninsula of India was too short, and the route through the Persian Gulf and up the Euphrates too direct to admit of a journey so long, that from the mere time it occupied as hinted by Damascenus several of the ambassadors should have died on the road.

II. Palmyra at this period still retained its national character and civilization and was essentially a Syrian republic. It had not yet merged into that Graeco-Roman city which it became after the time of Trajan, and which its ruins and the legends on its coins and the names of some of its citizens illustrate. Greek and Roman residents it no doubt admitted, but they could have been neither numerous enough nor powerful enough to have organised and forwarded our embassy.

III. Palmyra, situated in the desert some eighty miles from the Euphrates, was pre-eminently an inland town. Its citizens and resident strangers were merchants, warehousemen, carriers, agents, but they assuredly were not seafaring men; they possessed no ships, and received the produce of India through the Arabs, whose vessels delivered it at Sura or Thapsacus on the Euphrates whence it was brought on camels to Palmyra. They neither had nor could have any direct intercourse with India, and without such an intercourse our embassy is not conceivable.

IV. Palmyra is not likely to have encouraged any Indian embassy to the Roman Emperor. It was a free city. Its inhabitants had not forgotten the designs of Antony and the dangers they had but lately escaped, and it is not probable that they would now of their own free will call Roman attention to their wealth, and place the Indians from whom they derived it in direct communication with their own best customers. Through Palmyra this embassy could not have made its way to Augustus.

We turn now to the Greeks of Alexandria. Alexandria with a population made up of about every nation under the sun was essentially a Greek city. It carried on a large, profitable and increasing trade with the East. And though at the period of our embassy its merchants seldom ventured beyond the Arab Ports of Cane and Aden, where they traded for the products and manufactures of India, they nevertheless occasionally sailed for the Indian Seas, and made their way even to the Ganges.

And as they then interfered with the Arab monopoly, they saw themselves everywhere jealously watched and opposed by the Arabs, everywhere treated as interlopers, and had everywhere to encounter the persecutions of an excited populace. Only in some of the smaller and therefore neglected ports, could they find opportunity and permission to trade. And then how eagerly would they lay before the authorities the advantages of a direct trade! They would show them the prices asked and obtained by the Arabs for Hindu and Greek commodities, and point out how of the profits the Arabs carried away the lion's share. And if they fell in with some Rajah of the Buddhist faith—a faith without the prejudices of race, proselytising, catholic—and not averse to travel, they surely would easily persuade him, as in after times the Rajah of Ceylon was persuaded, to further and attempt to assure the direct trade by an embassy, the details of which a small Prince would willingly leave to them.

But besides this commercial interest common to both peoples, the Greeks of Alexandria had an interest of their own in getting up this embassy. In the great civil war but just concluded they had been partisans of Antony, they had fought in his ranks and were the last to yield after his defeat. They had to conciliate the favour of the conqueror. But they were no vulgar flatterers, theirs was not that adulation which repeats ever the same cuckoo note of praise. They studied their man and to his temper and character adapted their tone. To the literary Claudius they devoted a new room in their Museum, and placed his works among their class books. The theatre-circus-loving Nero they wheedled by hired bands of artistic claqueurs. And the usurpation of the plebeian Vespasian they sanctioned by endowing him with miraculous powers. How now would such a people seek to win over the politic Augustus? They bring to his feet these Indian ambassadors, and thus raise him to a rivalry with Alexander. That he was too wise and far-seeing to be himself deceived is probable

enough, but is no valid objection. What cared he that the crown was of copper-gilt and the robes of tinsel, provided that the plaudits were real? The object of the Alexandrians was not to impose on him, but to gain his favour by enabling him to impose on the Roman people; and that they fully succeeded Roman history sufficiently testifies.

In conclusion, I thus explain and account for our embassy. In the northern half of the Indian Peninsula Greek merchants in their intercourse with a Hindu Raja often press upon his notice the greatness and wealth of their metropolis, and insist upon the advantages which he and his country would derive from more intimate commercial relations with it. They advise an embassy, and offer a passage in their ship for the ambassadors and for such presents as they can conveniently carry and he conveniently send. The Raja is persuaded. In due course the embassy arrives at Alexandria, and for Alexandria only it may have been originally intended. But the Alexandrians, alive to their own interests, quickly forward it on to Augustus, and give it weight and dignity by affixing to the Greek letter with which they provide it a well-known and time honoured name. The presents they leave unchanged, aware that the travel-worn ambassadors, whose home is so distant that some of them have died on their way to Caesar, will impress the imagination more strongly than heaps of barbaric pearl and gold.

While I offer this explanation, I do not pretend that it is entirely satisfactory, "refutation-tight"; enough if it seems to others as to me, less improbable, less open to objection, more simple and more in accordance with the facts given, than others.

## APPENDIX III

Arrian's *Indika*

The English translation of Arrian's *Indika* by McCrindle has been given above, on pp. 214 to 231. The English translation of the same work, by E. Iliff Robson, published in 1933, i.e., 56 years after that of McCrindle, materially differs in many points from the earlier work. The more important points are noted below.

Page	line	McCrindle's translation given in the text	Robinson's translation
216	13	point of Taurus	mountain
"	20	schoeni	reed measurements
"	22	they were . . . accuracy.	the information is not so certain.
217	1	300	30
"	19-20	from the dominions of a tribe	at the place
"	32-33	rising in the dominions of	among
218	30	resided at the court of	met
"	31	at the court of	(omit this phrase)
219	17	suspended	crucified
"	36	fountain	spring
220	28-9	Indians, no doubt, who live in the south-west	southern Indians
221	19-20	furnished them with the implements of agriculture	armed them also with the arms of warfare
"	25	turban	conical cap
223	22-3	but among these a republic was thrice established	and during this time thrice [movements were made] for liberty.
224	36	in which their praises are celebrated	which they sing at their funeral
"	15-6	The same writer . . . . . India	This also is remarkable in India
"	29	State	people of India
"	31	as if	since
"	40-41	be silent for the future	hold his peace for ever



225	1	prophecy
"	18-9	shaking down apples
"	25-6	shop-keepers
"	26-7	these are workers, and pay tribute from their works
226	2	overlookers
"	5	illegal
"	12	from this class are selected
"	14-5	officers of army and navy, financial officers, and overseers of agricultural workers.
229	40	linen
230	4-7	They have a linen tunic to the middle of the calf, and for outer garments, one thrown round about their shoulders, and one wound round their heads
"	30-31	its length not under three cubits much lighter in movement
231	4-5	being the most notable things which
"	25	army
"	29	navy



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